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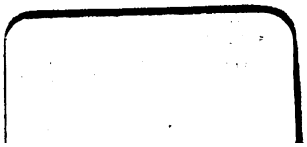
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PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FRIDAY, JANUARY 3, 1919

"History herself, as seen in her own workshop."

THE MILITARY HOSPITAL AT LITITZ, 1777-78.

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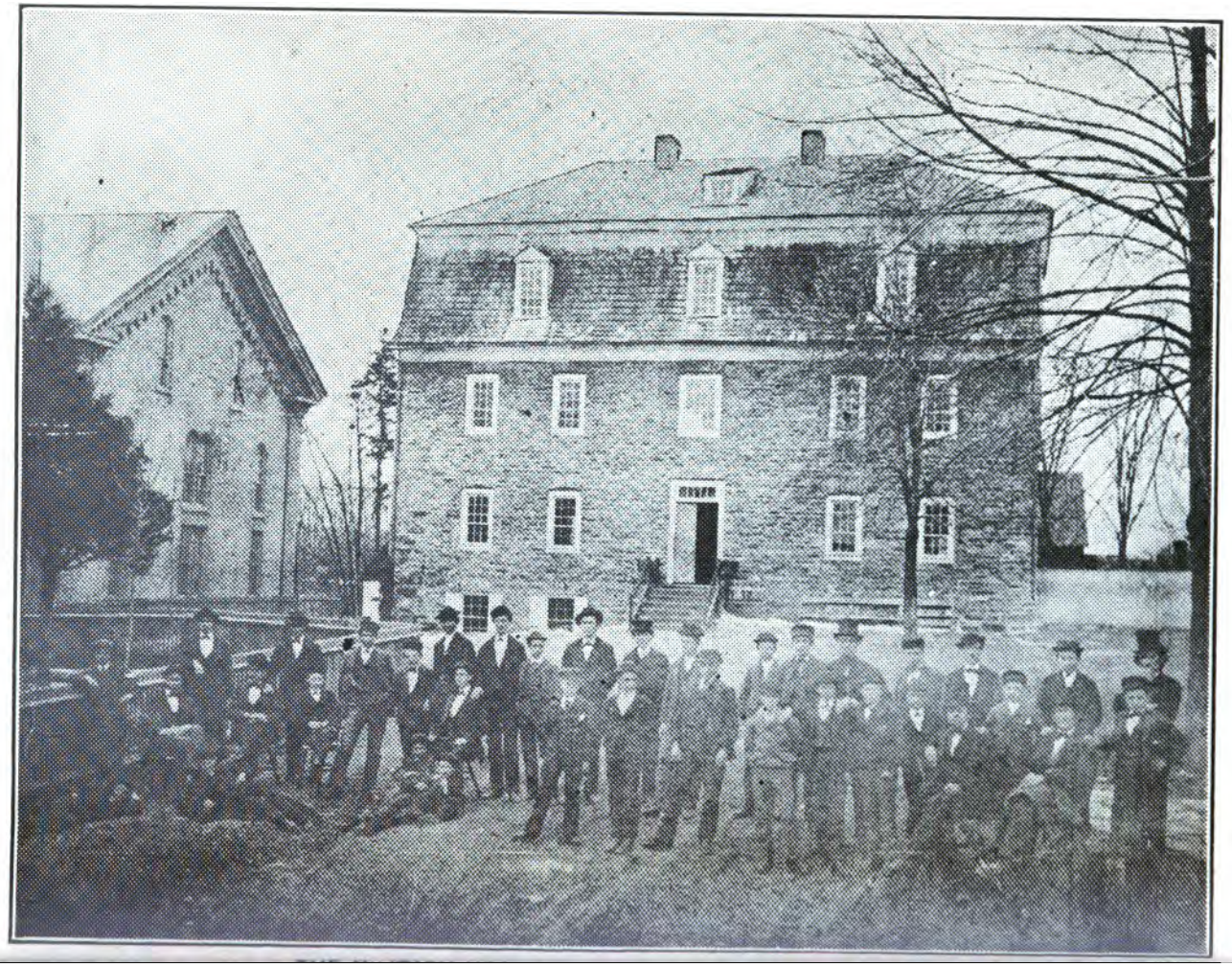
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The Military Hospital at Lititz, 1777–78. - - - - - - - 5
By Prof. Herbert H. Beck.

Minutes of the January Meeting. - - - - - - - - - 15



The Military Hospital at Lititz, 1777-78.

During the period under consideration Lititz was a Moravian settlement consisting of eighteen buildings, which included residences and several larger structures. These houses were ranged along Main Street between the eastern extremity of what is now the Linden Hall Seminary property and the Springs Hotel. The Moravian Church, as it is to-day, was not standing at the time. Services were held in the second story of the building now used as the Moravian parsonage. Immediately to the east of this was the Sisters' House—essentially the same as it is to-day as part of Linden Hall. To the westward stood the Brethren's House, built in 1759. This building was the military hospital of revolutionary days. It is three stories in height with a frontage of sixty and a depth of thirty-seven feet. Subsequently to its use by Washington's army surgeons and their charges, it was used by John Beck as the main building of his academy; and later, up to the present time, it has been used for various offices of the Moravian Church. To the south of the Brethren's House was a quadrangle of small shops harboring the industries in which the brethren were employed. These included quarters for the accommodation of weaver, baker, nailsmith, hatter, butcher, carpenter and chandler.

At the western end of the village, occupying a site now covered by the eastern half of the Springs Hotel, stood the Zum Anker Inn. This building is described by those now living who remember it, as being a two-story frame structure, with a high, peaked roof. A great stone door step at its entrance on the north, a town pump on the edge of its sidewalk, and a conspicuous board—pendant from a cross arm, and bearing the sign of the anchor—were notable features of this historic hostelry.

The village and the Moravian congregation were one in all matters—though Lititz was not a religious community in the same sense as were Bethlehem and Nazareth, in which there was absolute merging of individual effort and gain to the common good. The business and social life of Lititz was organized about the Church. Individuals owned property and conducted business as they do to-day, though under the general oversight of a board known as the Aufseher Collegium, or Committee on Temporal Affairs. This was a powerful body made up of some of the wiser and more practical members of the congregation. It acted as referee in matters requiring adjustment, and frequently gave advice or correction, where it obviously was needed, in business or social affairs. It also had the ordinary duties of a town council. One extract from the diary of the Collegium illustrates its powers and at the same time sketches in a few strokes the primitive structure of the village life.

Entry: "Joseph Sturgis (watchman) wants to have a horn wherewith to announce the hours, because he says the frequency of calling them out

is too hard on him. Collegium thought that before midnight he could go about quietly and unnoticed; and after that time continue as loud and as often as formerly; or instead of that sing a scriptural verse. A horn might be unpleasant to some of the neighbors. When there is a body in the corpse-house he should look in frequently."

The Moravian Church, as a corporation, conducted several lines of business, notably two or more farms, a butcher shop, a general store, a saw and grist mill, and the Zum Anker Inn. The finances of these were under the supervision of an aufseher or warden of the Church.

The single sisters and brothers of the congregation were segregated for purposes of instruction and employment in the two large houses erected on either side of the Church.

Records of the times, in the German language, were kept in a congregation diary, in the minutes of the Collegium, and in the separate diaries of the Brethren's and Sisters' Houses. This paper is largely a presentation of the translations made from these four sources by Abraham R. Beck. In order to preserve, as far as possible, the attitude of mind of the writers of these records, the translations were made with as much literalism as was justified by good English context.

The main facts of the paper, outside of the excerpts from early diaries, were furnished by Abraham R. Beck, and the writer is also indebted to John W. Jordan and Judge Charles I. Landis for data on several of the persons mentioned herein.

The first entry referring to the momentous events of the times reads:

"1775. February 27th. Congress having adopted a measure regarding the use of tea, which is now strictly obeyed everywhere, it was resolved to sell none of it in our store.

"April 29th. To our consternation, we received news of the bloody action between the king's troops and the Americans at Bunker Hill and Charlestown, near Boston.

"June 2d. Bishop Seidel wrote us, from Bethlehem, that a declaration of our principles had been presented to Congress by Mr. Franklin, and favorably received.

"1776. July 13th. From the newspapers we learn that on the 4th inst. in Philadelphia, Independence was actually declared by Congress and all provinces made free States.

"Dec. 13th. There is much alarm felt, and great excitement, in Philadelphia, Lancaster and indeed throughout the whole country because of the progress of the British army. The Committee of Safety has ordered all militia to march against it.

"1777. February 28th. A party of Marylanders, on their return from the Army, arrived and staid here overnight. Being half-starved they went into the houses to get something to eat, and were given loaves of bread and a quantity of meat, which they accepted with the heartiest thanks, saying that in all their weary march they had been nowhere treated so well as here.

"May 15th. By order of the Committee, blankets, linen and clothing were collected in our township for the Army. We, too, must contribute what we can spare, and future payment is promised.

" Sept. 28th. The three French officers, among them a German baron, who had been stopping at our tavern for some days, left in haste for York; because Congress secretly left Lancaster last evening and crossed the Susquehanna.

" Oct. 3d. The French Chevalier La Calombe brought us a letter from our friend and Congressman Laurens regretting the necessity for his departure so soon from our neighborhood, Congress having been suddenly transferred to York."

The French officer somewhat inaccurately referred to was Chevalier de la Colombe who had enlisted as a volunteer in the American service. He left France with Lafayette, to whom he was aide-de-camp. He was breveted captain by Congress, November, 1777. In January, 1779, Lafayette, about to start for France, wrote to General Washington, recommending de la Colombe for a major's brevet. At the end of the war de la Colombe returned to France and was employed by the French republic. He was made a prisoner, with Lafayette, in 1792, by the Prince of Coburg and shut up in the citadel of Olmutz. Upon his release he returned to Philadelphia.

" Oct. 7th. Just as after the battle of Brandywine Creek [Sept. 11th], so to-day, after the engagement at Germantown [Oct. 4th] many soldiers passed through Lititz."

The looseness of military discipline, during this period, is shown in the next entry:

" Oct. 21st. During the evening meeting six armed soldiers entered the Sisters' House—dreadfully frightening, with their brutal swearing, the house-watcher and the few sisters who were at home. Their intent was forcibly to enter the dormitory and press, for their own use, the blankets off the beds. However they had the goodness to let themselves be dissuaded from their purpose."

In referring to this incident the Sisters' House Diary says:

" The Brethren Schmick and Franke were fetched from the Chapel, coming promptly to our assistance, and they got the fellows away before the meeting was over. We thanked our dear Lord and House Father that he so mercifully preserved us, and that only the fright remained."

" Nov. 29th. In our neighborhood the soldiers have pressed many teams (our own, from the farm, included) to carry provisions to the army.

" December 14th. A doctor by the name of Canada (Kennedy) brought us the news that by order of General Washington, 250 sick and wounded soldiers must be quartered here. He inspected our house (the Brethren's House) which suited his purposes exactly, and ordered that it be immediately vacated, for we might expect the first of the sick in four days. We could however retain kitchen and cellar for our own use.

" Dec. 19th. At noon several soldiers arrived here to prepare for the coming of their sick and wounded comrades, who came hither in the evening in wagons. There are about 80 in all, mostly from the Jerseys.

" Dec. 20th. The brethren Franke and Becker were appointed communicators between Dr. Allison, his steward, or his commissary, and ourselves. There came 15 wagons full of sick soldiers; so that now all our rooms and halls are filled with them.

"Dec. 21st. Also, quite late, 100 more sick and wounded; but as the hospital was quite full they were taken elsewhere.

"The question arose, where shall the dead be buried if any die in the lazaret? Later, after consultation with several brethren of the Committee on Temporal Affairs, we determined to set apart a corner of our lowermost field."

The spot referred to in this entry, where about one hundred and ten men were buried unfortunately was not marked. The lines of the Moravian land were so changed in later years that the phrase "corner of our lowermost field" has lost its value in fixing the place. However, according to accurate tradition, it was several hundred yards east of the Moravian Church, and south of the road running between Lititz and the village of Rome by about a hundred yards. Thirty years ago excavations for brick clay invaded what evidently was the edge of the graveyard, several oblong masses of dark-colored earth, parallel with each other, and a few feet apart, being dug into before it was realized that they were graves. This was at a spot fifty yards south of East Main Street, and about one hundred yards southwest of the residence of Dr. Bender. At the place where the soldiers are buried the gentle hill which slopes to the westward takes an abrupt dip. This marks the limit of the old excavation and the spot where the graves were found.

That the numbers of the dead and the gravity of the health situation in the village, to which the epidemic of camp fever had spread from the hospital, made for hasty and rude burials, is shown in the next entry:

"In the event of an officer's death we should be expected to give him a more honorable burial place than that is, where all are huddled indiscriminately underground. Therefore we resolved in such a case to do as they really have done in Bethlehem; namely, to set apart, in our graveyard, a row for strangers, separated from that of the brethren by a passage."

No necessity for the carrying out of this plan arose however.

"Dec. 28th. Yesterday Bro. Schmick preached to the soldiers in the Brethren's House. [Bro. Schmick contracted camp fever and died a few weeks later.] The misery in the lazaretto cannot be described; neither can it, without being seen, be imagined. The two doctors themselves are sick, and have the attention of Bro. Adolph Meyer. Therefore the soldiers are without medicine. Such as are nearly recovered, fearing a relapse of the malady, prefer to remain out of doors as much as possible; but to-day, because of the continuous snow-storm, they were forced, much to their displeasure, to stay in the house.

"Dec. 31st. Another wagon with sick soldiers came from Reading.

"1778. Jan. 1st. As both doctors are too ill to attend to their duties, a third, a German from Saxony, came to take charge in their place. Two of the soldiers, seven of whom have died already, were buried to-day.

"Jan. 10th. Some of our little boys have been trading things with the soldiers, receiving in exchange cartridges and powder, which they set off in the barns. Bro. Schmick gave them a sharp talking on their improper and highly dangerous play, and with good result but the parents must be more watchful over their children! No one should buy from the soldiers what are, at any rate, commonly stolen goods."

This is a touch of the inevitable comedy of boy nature, amidst the tragic settings of the moment, that is well worth handing down.

Another entry of the same date has lost its gravity entirely with the flight of a century, and with its touch of humor it is a fitting introduction of the quaint figure of Tobias Hirte. The diary reads:

"There is no reason why Tobias Hirte should have bought a gun; indeed on the contrary it is an unseemliness! What use has a schoolmaster for a gun? He must be ordered to dispose of it.

"Some 20 well soldiers left the hospital to rejoin the Army.

"Jan. 18th. Dr. Brown, the general superintendent of all the hospitals in this region, came from Bethlehem, bringing with him a fine letter of recommendation. He intends to bring his family hither and make Lititz his temporary home."

Dr. William Brown, son of an eminent Scotch physician, Dr. Gustavus Brown, was born in Virginia and educated in Edinburgh. He wrote a pharmacopœia—for the use of the hospital—the first of its kind published in America. This work is dated in its preface Lititz, March 12, 1778.

Dr. Brown rose to the rank of surgeon general after the revolution. He was buried at "Preston" near Alexandria, Va., in the family burying ground.

Dr. Brown was quartered, during his stay in Lititz, at the home of Tanneberger, builder of some of the first pipe organs made in America. Tanneberger's house stood nearly opposite the congregation store—now Wolle's store—on Main Street.

Dr. Allison was at Blickensderfer's—on the north side of the street, west of Cedar Street; and officers were at Geitner's—now the site of Dr. Hertz's house, and at Claus Coeln's—about where S. M. Huber's store now stands. Claus Coeln was the builder of the present Moravian Church, erected 1787. Officers were also quartered at the home of Jaspar Payne, the only villager of English birth. His house stood immediately to the west of the congregation store. The presence of a colonel at Jaspar Payne's was a sore trial to the venerable host; for the convalescing officer, in the glow of returning health, entertained his many visitors from Lancaster with a generous merriment so high that it often approached uproar.

"Because of Bro. Jaspar Payne's age and weakness," the dairy reads, "it would be well, when the Colonel leaves, for the prevention of future similar occurrences, to ask Dr. Allison and his family to lodge there.

"March 1st. About 60 well soldiers are rendezvousing here. Their behavior is pretty wild and ill-mannered. Dr. Allison, who has hitherto maintained good order here, has gone to Bristol to fetch his family to Lititz.

"April 8th. We heard from Bethlehem that Lititz is to be vacated and that the general hospital is to be located here. Bishop Hehl writes: 'It was proposed that our people go to Bethlehem and Nazareth for, after all, we are all one family.' This causes us much pain and serious trouble. As this action will depend upon Dr. Shippen, Conference unanimously determined to send him a petition against the intended move. This was done on the 9th. In reply Dr. Shippen stated that he had the highest esteem for the Brethren's Society, and that he would do his utmost to protect it. Should an urgent

necessity arise to place the general hospital here—and that does not seem likely—he would first consult the brethren upon the subject."

This matter was laid directly before General Washington by Bishop Ettwein, who was at the head of the Moravian Church in the American provinces. The answer is notable for its calm dignity and kindliness. Written at a time when Freedom was a will o' the wisp in a swamp of despair, and when trials and responsibilities were crowding upon the Commander-in-Chief in a bitterly personal way, Washington's letter to the Moravians of Lititz reflects the serenity of a great soul. The communication is dated Headquarters, March 28, 1778. It reads as follows:

"*Sir:*—I have received your letter of the 25 inst. by Mr. Hasse, setting forth the injury that will be done to the Inhabitants of Letiz, by establishing a General Hospital there—it is needless to explain how essential an establishment of this kind is to the Welfare of the Army, and you must be sensible that it cannot be made anywhere without occasioning inconvenience to some set of people or other—at the same time it is ever my wish & aim that the public Good be effected with as little sacrifice as possible of individual Interests—and I would by no means sanction the imposing any burthens on the people in whose favor you remonstrate, which the public service does not require. The Arrangement and Distribution of Hospitals depends entirely on Dr. Shippen, and I am persuaded that he will not exert the authority vested in him unnecessarily to your prejudice—It would be proper however to represent to him the circumstances of the inhabitants of Letiz; and you may if you choose it, communicate the Contents of this Letter to him. I am Sir Your most obed^{t}.

"Serv^{t}.

"Go. WASHINGTON."

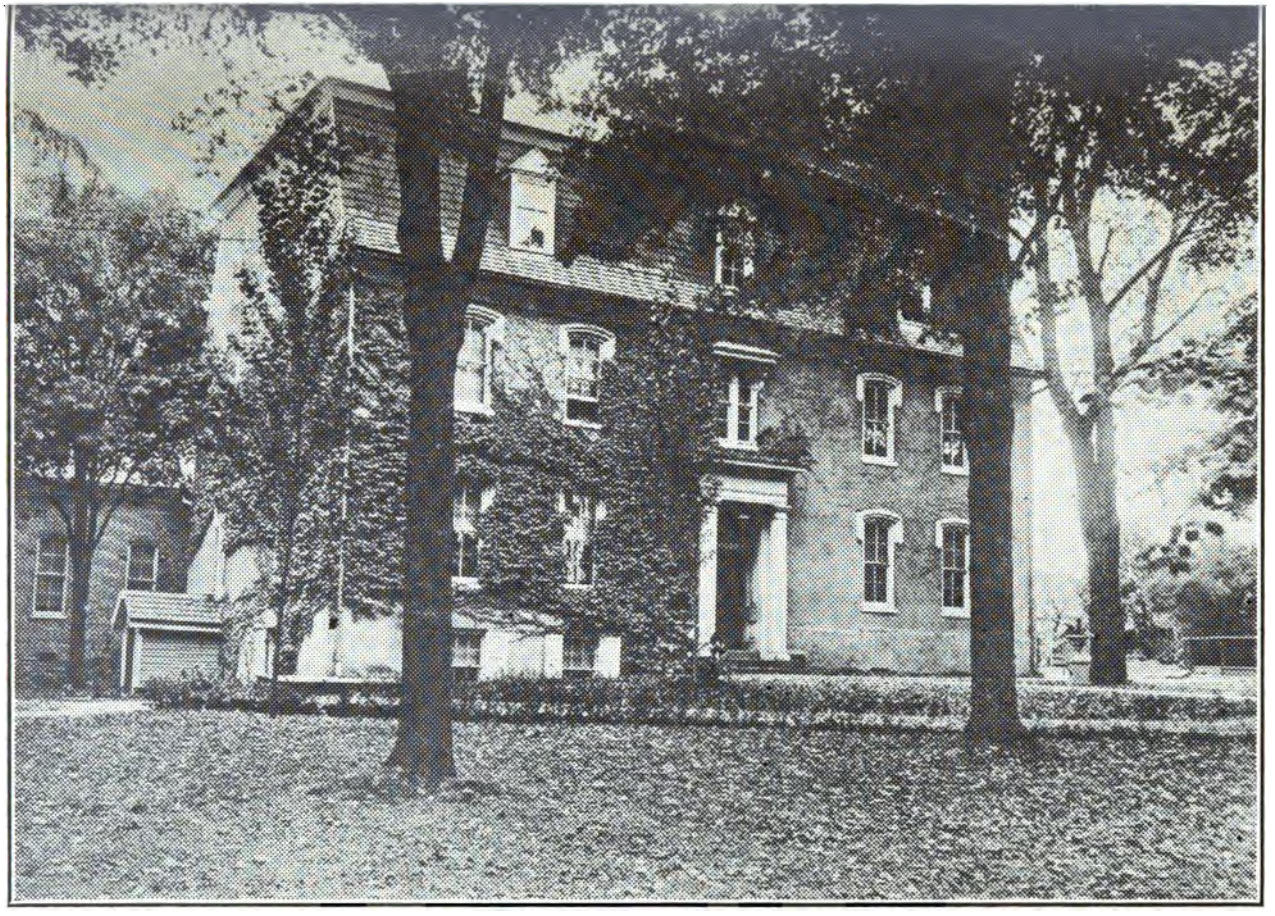
This letter was written by Washington's secretary, to whom it was dictated by the General who, of course, signed it himself.

In the course of events it did not become necessary for Dr. Shippen to order Lititz vacated for purposes of the military hospital; so what the Moravian Brethren so much feared did not come to pass.

The man referred to in Washington's letter, Dr. William Shippen, the younger son of William and Susannah (neé Harrison) Shippen, was born in Philadelphia on October 21, 1736. Graduating from Princeton in 1754, he studied with his father until 1758, when he went to England, and continued his studies under Drs. John Hunter, William Hunter and McKenzie. He returned to Philadelphia in 1762. On July 15, 1776, he was appointed Chief Physician for the Flying Camp, and on April 11, 1777, he was elected Director General of all the Military Hospitals for the Armies of the United States. On May 11, 1780, he was elected Professor of Anatomy and Surgery in the University of Pennsylvania, which position he held until 1806. He was president of the College of Physicians from 1805 until his death, which occurred in Germantown in 1808.

Dr. William Shippen was a nephew of Edward Shippen of Lancaster.

"April 21st. Arrived 9 wagons with sick and wounded from Bethlehem, Easton, Allentown and Reading.



THE MILITARY HOSPITAL BUILDING AS IT IS TO-DAY.

"Apr. 22d. Day of Humiliation and Prayer. (National.)

"May 7th. Some of the young people—among them some of our musicians—are in the habit of indulging, late into the night, in merrymaking at the Big Spring, where Tobias Hirte has laid out a special place for that purpose. Soldiers go there also. This has given the congregation and ourselves great offence! Yet what is to be done—seeing that Dr. Allison was there too and that this place was planned partly for his sake? But Dr. Allison has respect for our congregation rules, and we may not hesitate to tell him why we are opposed to this rendezvous, and ask him kindly, for love of us, to absent himself from it.

"Tobias Hirte shall be summoned to appear before the Brethren of the Conference and told not to dare in the future to begin such a thing on our land—for he is given to sudden ideas of such a kind—especially not without permission; and secondly to leave the place at the spring as it now is, and do nothing more to it."

This is the first mention of the Lititz springs as a pleasure ground.

Tobias Hirte seems to have been a constant source of anxiety to the pious overseers of the town. The figure of this man had in it enough of quaintness, originality and eccentric distinction to entitle the name of Tobias Hirte to a place in the good literature of a hundred and twenty-five years later; at least, an author so skillful in his choice of characters as Rudyard Kipling seems to think so.

Hirte combined the qualities of intelligence, enterprise, originality and independence of mind, with the occupations of teacher, versatile musician, itinerant pharmacist and hermit. He lived at Lititz, Salem, N. C., Philadelphia (at which place Kipling found data about him), Lebanon and elsewhere. He was often on the road—astride a well-known mare—with his Seneca Indian Oil. Each year he made a pilgrimage to the Seneca Indians and the famous chiefs of that nation, Cornplanter and Red Jacket, thought well enough of him to return his visits. While he lived at Lititz, during revolutionary days, he was a member of the Brethren's House Community, from whence, for certain escapades, he was frequently expelled, and as often forgiven, until patience with him ceased to be a virtue and he was sent away for good.

Kipling uses the character of Hirte in two of his stories, "Brother Square Toes" and "A Priest in Spite of Himself."

"May 13th. Some of the soldiers left here for the Army.

"May 24th. To-day Lieutenant Abraham Boemper, of the American Army, came to Lititz bringing with him a packet of European Gemein Nachrichten destined for Bethlehem. It had been seized, on its way from Philadelphia, as it passed through the Continental lines; and having been broken open, read, and found to contain nothing but innocent matter, Lieut. Boemper had saved it from destruction, and kindly gave himself the trouble to come to Lititz and deliver it, safe and sound, into our hands.

"June 2d. This has been an unquiet day for us, as 130 of the sick and wounded have been brought hither. We had some hope that deliverance was at hand; but now since the main hospital has been established here we see there is more trouble in store for us.

"June 14th. [Sisters' House Diary.] In the meeting of the communicant

members we received the information not unexpected, yet painful, that the Holy Communion would be discontinued until our usual calm is restored.

"June 28th. We heard to-day, for certain, that the Americans have possession again of Philadelphia.

"July 8th. There came two wagons from Lancaster with sick for the hospital.

"August 21st. We hear that the hospital will be removed, for certain, next week.

"Aug. 28th. At last came the hour when the hospital here broke up. Some of the sick were transported to Yellow Springs, others to Lancaster.

"Aug. 29th. We certainly find it delightful to enjoy again our former peaceful life. It must be said however that Dr. Allison maintained order and discipline to the best of his ability.

"Sept. 15. [Brethren's House Diary.] Our dear sisters cheerfully volunteered to scrub our house (recently vacated as a hospital) and finished towards evening.

"Sept. 25th. Thankful and happy we moved back into our house. It had previously been cleaned of all dirt and rubbish, and the walls were newly whitewashed. All the stoves and windows needed repairs, and the woodwork everywhere was freshly painted.

"1779. May 13th. Dr. Brown and family arrived here to-day from Virginia. He was very friendly, and declared himself delighted to meet the brethren again. He wished we had a settlement in Virginia.

"June 21st. Dr. Allison and family, who remained here, by our consent, after the removal of the hospital, left for Shamokin where he will have a similar charge. He was very thankful for all the kindness they received here.

"1780. March 9th. Fifty light horsemen came here to seek quarters for the night. At the tavern they permitted Bro. Danz (who had charge of the Zum Anker) to explain that it would not be agreeable to him to take them in; but then they went into the neighborhood, where they behaved outrageously, robbing and taking from the people whatever they could lay their hands upon.

"1781. June 29th. That two English prisoners in our town were roughly and, one can say, almost inhumanly handled by some of our people, a few days ago was not only a reprehensible action, but something not to be tolerated. The guilty ones must be spoken to about it.

"Oct. 21. Bro. Simon Danz, at the tavern, has two English prisoners working for him. As we have reason to fear that their staying here any longer may give rise to evil results, Bro. Danz must be advised to consult with Bro. W^{m}. Henry in Lancaster, in regard to them so that they may be dismissed —the sooner the better."

Then follows an entry which touches the cord of sympathy with our own happy experiences of November 11, 1918. It reads:

"1783. Dec. 11th. A day of Thanksgiving appointed by the National Government. In the evening, for joy at the return of peace, we illuminated our house; the trombonists playing meanwhile much to our delight."

With this entry ends all direct or indirect reference to the hospital in the local records of the times.

The Brethren's House had been used by Washington's men from December

19, 1777, to August 28, 1778. During this period more than five hundred, probably nearer a thousand, sick and wounded soldiers were quartered there.

Little reference to the Lititz Hospital is to be found in the records of the War Department at Washington. It is probable that most of these records were destroyed in the burning of the Department building eighty-five years ago. What remain there read as follows:

"Report of the General Hospitals, April 26, 1778. Opposite 'Liditz Hospital.' In what time, 1st Feby to 20 Apl 1778, men now in hospital 39; dead and deserted 83, discharged and sent to camp 142. Other occurrences and remarks: The acct of the first Doctors cannot be found. This is a convenient and pleasant place for an hospital and is so near Lancaster that the same officer and surgeons may attend both. That at Schelferstown [doubtless Schaefferstown] and Ephrata should be removed to them, both being very inconvenient.

"Signed LACHN. MCINTOSH."

This officer was a Brigadier General and he signs another return as a "Visiting Officer."

A list of names of men remaining in the General Hospital at Lititz, August 23, 1778, contains 66 names. This list is framed and now hangs in the archive room at Lititz. It is as follows:

Name.	Regiment.	Name.	Regiment.
Alex^{r} Creighton	1st Penna.	James Anderson	6th Virginia.
George Filson	1st Penna.	Will^{m} Knight	10th Virginia.
William Rule	2nd Penna.	Joel Harlow	14th Virginia.
James McKenney	8th Penna.	Stephen Remington	Col. Bradley.
Sadler Roach	4th Penna.	Joseph Lawrence	Col. Tupper.
John Gregor	3d Penna.	Henry Pencil	5th Penna.
Patrick Robinson	9th Penna.	John Hargin	5th Penna.
Alex^{r} Hannah	9th Penna.	Barney Cox	6th Penna.
Ja^{s} Cummins	12th Penna.	John McSorly	7th Penna.
Abraham Levi	8th Virginia.	Will^{m} Campbell	11th Penna.
William Woodford	8th Virginia.	Josh McCawley	11th Penna.
John Andrews	12th Virginia.	Joshua Dutton	Col. Handley.
Joseph West	16th Virginia.	Gashua Bushears	Col. Hartley.
James O. Bryan	11th Virginia.	Hermenias Thornton	Col. Proctor.
John Uncteau	13th Penna.	Chas. Steward	Col. Patten.
Chas. Shields	15th Virginia.	Patric Turner	Col. Moilands.
Timothy Connor	15th Virginia.	Will^{m} Tarbox	Col. Wessers.
John Moore	1st Virg^{a} State.	David Hall	Col. Swift.
James Martin	13th Virginia.	John Cochlin	Col. Swift.
Will^{m} Gass	13th Virginia.	Mark Wood	Col. Swift.
Willis Smith	6th N. Carolina.	Francis Millner	Col. Swift.
Gerrard Craig	6th N. Carolina.	Matthew Wingfield	Col. Swift.
Isaac Griffin	10th N. Carolina.	Mich^{l} Trainer	Col. Hazen.
John Evans	3d N. Carolina.	John Carner	6th Penna.
John Frankum	6th N. Carolina.	Aaron Oseley	15th Virginia.
Ambrose Hines	Col. Chandley.	James Morris	Col. Jackson.

Name.	Regiment.	Name.	Regiment.
William Boswell,	Col. Angel.	Felix Tool,	Col. Jackson.
Jonathan Pardee,	Col. Chandler.	James Winford,	Col. Jackson.
John McCormac,	4th Maryland.	Wm Manning,	Col. Prentice.
Mark Welch,	7th Maryland.	Henry Gloss,	Col. Prentice.
William Sutton,	2nd Jersey.	Henry Otto,	Prisoner of War.
John Syren,	5th Jersey.	Yost Needle,	Prisoner of War.
Virgil Poe,	2nd Virginia.	Henry Shank,	Prisoner of War.

The Brigade and Company of each man is also given in the Official List, which is a copy of that in the Adjutant-General's office in Washington. It is signed by

FRA. ALISON, Junr.,
Senr Surgeon.

A poem, involving the subject of our theme, was written several years ago by Abraham R. Beck. It was conceived solely for the members of his family and it has not been published. With the author's consent it is presented herewith, not only because it makes an appropriate ending to a paper on the Military Hospital at Lititz, but because it is fitting that the conclusion should be furnished by the pen that made the rest of this paper possible.

WHILE MORTALS SLEEP.

If you have but the proper gift
Yourself from earthly things to lift,
And can possess your soul from fright,—
Beholding an unusual sight,—
Then come with me, when midnight spell
Is broken by the village bell,
To that green court of velvet sod
Beside the ancient House of God,
And see—what nightly happens still—
The shades of Continentals drill.
First signs of their approach are these:
A shiver goes through all the trees;
The air, grown chill, as of the tomb,
Is touched with keen phosphoric fume;
Then—hark! the beat of phantom drum.
From unknown graves they hither come!
Corpse-candles, floating, pale and dull,
Yet faintly light each mildewed skull
As five score spectres shamble past,
And, at command, are ranged at last
By those devoted gray walls where
The pious Brothers lived in prayer;
For never do these ghosts forget
Salute to their brave lazaret!
This grisly midnight promenade,
These skeletons upon parade,
You shall have privilege to see
If you will venture there with me.

Minutes of the January Meeting.

LANCASTER, PA., January 3, 1919.

The first meeting for the new year and the annual session of the Lancaster County Historical Society was held this evening in the Society's room in the public library building. The president, Judge Landis, presided.

The treasurer's report showed the total financial wealth of the Society was $917.94. It was the annual report of Treasurer Hostetter and it was ordered received and entered upon the minutes.

On motion an auditing committee was appointed to pass upon the accounts of the treasurer.

The librarian, Harry L. Stehman, presented his monthly report, also his annual report, both of which were received and on motion ordered placed upon the minutes. The monthly report was as follows:

The following exchange periodicals and donations were received by the Society during the past month:

Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society.
Wisconsin Magazine of History for December.
The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography.
Records of the American Catholic Historical Society.
The Journal of American History.
The Annual Report of the Interstate Commerce Commission.
United States Selective Service Regulations.

The donations consisted of:

"Acts of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania Passed at a Session Which was Begun and Held at the Borough of Lancaster, December 6, 1808," the copy bearing the name of Robt. Coleman.

A booklet of Michael Lebert Chapter of Port Angeles, Washington, from Mrs. T. L. Harrington, of Seattle.

An old German Bible from Miss Moltz of near New York.

Respectfully submitted,

HARRY STEHMAN, JR.,
Librarian.

On motion Walter A. Zell was elected a member of the Society.

Arthur P. Mylin, of Lancaster, and C. E. Kemper, of Staunton, Va., were nominated for membership.

The annual report of the secretary was read and ordered to be entered upon the minutes.

On motion of Rev. Browne the secretary was ordered to write to the Kiwanis Club a letter of appreciation for their effort in erecting the Honor Roll on the court house plaza.

Miss Spindler raised the question of having compiled a history of Lancaster county's participation in the world war and it was discussed by Mr. Hostetter, Mr. Magee, Mrs. Robinson and Mr. Hollinger.

On motion the president was authorized to appoint a committee to take up the question of compiling data on the local end of the war.

On motion the secretary cast the ballot for the election of the following officers for the ensuing year:

President, Judge Charles I. Landis; vice-presidents, F. R. Diffenderffer, Litt.D., H. Frank Eshleman, Esq.; recording secretary, C. B. Hollinger; corresponding secretary, Miss Martha B. Clark; assistant recording secretary, John L. Summy; librarian, Harry Stehman, Jr.; treasurer, A. K. Hostetter; executive committee, G. F. K. Erisman, D. B. Landis, Mrs. S. B. Carpenter, Miss Daisy E. B. Grubb, L. B. Herr, Mrs. Mary N. Robinson, I. C. Arnold, Esq., George Steinman, D. F. Magee, Esq., and H. H. Beck.

The paper of the evening was submitted by Prof. Herbert H. Beck, of Franklin and Marshall College, who had as his subject, "The Military Hospital at Lititz, 1777–1778." It was an unusually able paper and brought out some new material on our revolutionary history.

The paper brought forth most favorable comment from the members and on motion a vote of thanks was tendered Professor Beck for his contribution

On motion adjourned.

C. B. HOLLINGER,
Secretary.

Secretary's Annual Report.

LANCASTER, PA., January 3, 1918.

TO THE OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE
LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY:

The outstanding feature in historical matters hereabouts during the year 1918 was the observance of the Centennial of Lancaster City. This Society took a prominent part in the festivities, the president reading a very entertaining paper on early Lancaster history which he supplemented later by a paper on City Hall. While the observance was not on the elaborate scale as originally planned, owing to war conditions, it was of sufficient extent to properly mark this epoch, and it has been duly recorded in our proceedings.

Several valuable papers were contributed by members during the year, adding materially to the steadily increasing volume of historical matter which has been compiled in our twenty-two volumes. There are few historical societies, if any, which can show such a great record of accomplishments in the way of printed matter and in the holding of public gatherings as the Lancaster County Society.

At least three of our members served their country in the national army and navy, and it would be appropriate, it seems to me, to give them some form of recognition when they return. If I recall, action was taken looking to the placing of a service flag in the society rooms and also the displaying of the stars and stripes. This should be carried out and the service flag at least be made a permanent feature of the decorations. The two flags could be combined in some effective way that would add to the attractiveness of our assembly room.

The increase in membership has not been as large as in previous years but the society is holding its own and when conditions again become normal it is believed there will be a more decided trend toward historical matters.

In the secretary's report of last year the suggestion was made that some effort should be made by the society to compile a history of the participation of Lancaster city and county in the world war. No definite steps along this line have been taken, and I believe that the matter deserves the serious consideration of our members. So far as I know no other local organization has taken a move in this direction and it would seem to be our duty as an historical body to take some action in that direction. No better work could be taken up during the year just opened.

The secretary will compile sketches of the members who have passed away during the past year and have them incorporated in the January issue of the pamphlets.

Signed,

C. B. HOLLINGER,
Secretary.

Librarian's Annual Report.

The year of America's participation in the great war has found the Society's library used to easily the extent of the previous one and not a few persons from other sections have found it of assistance to them in their family research work and matters of more general interest. Numerous inquiries through the mail have also been answered and considerable information given to those who asked for same.

But nevertheless it is felt that the war did interfere somewhat both so far as the using of books and records of the Society is concerned and also in the matter of donations, as people's thoughts were diverted more pronouncedly into unusual channels.

But a number of new books were received and the volumes on the shelves of the library now approximate 2,800. The dozen exchanges of the Society were received regularly and the most important of them set apart for binding, while the others were preserved for use in the form in which they arrived. A half dozen volumes of these exchanges of the preceding year were bound and are now in book form on the library shelves.

The demand for the Society's pamphlets has not diminished and an issue was published, following each meeting, as per custom.

Several volumes of old newspapers were donated, also a few old book prints, some genealogical works and a family history in manuscript.

Most important of the donations to the museum were a Civil War sword, scabbard and belt, in fine condition; and two handsome, well-preserved old-fashioned spinning wheels; as well as a score of photographic plates of interesting local scenes and landmarks of the past.

The expenditures of the year by the librarian were $3.58 for postage and $1 for extra room light, paid to the Free Library Association, which leaves a balance of $1.05 in his hands.

Respectfully submitted,

HARRY STEHMAN, JR.,
Librarian.

Treasurer's Annual Report.

LANCASTER, PA., January 3, 1919.

Report of the financial condition of the Lancaster County Historical Society of Lancaster, Pa., for the year ending December 31, 1918.

January 1, 1918—Balance on hand	$ 66.01
Amount received from County Treasurer	200.00
Amount received from dues and membership fees	327.25
Amount received from sale of publication	23.45
Total	$616.71

Amounts paid by the Treasurer for which orders were regularly drawn by the President and Secretary, as follows:

For rent of rooms to Oct. 1, 1918	$ 35.00
For bookbinding	9.00
For books and stationery	8.08
For State Federation dues	2.00
For postage	20.00
For printing pamphlets, etc.	350.15
For mailing and dixing	52.22
For wages	2.00
Total	478.45
Balance on hand January 1, 1919	138.26
Total	$616.71

In addition to the above the Treasurer has in his possession six certificates of deposit issued by the Conestoga National Bank of Lancaster bearing interest at the rate of four per cent. per annum as follows:

$ 31.63	due	Jan. 8, 1919.
$253.05	due	Mar. 4, 1919.
$208.00	due	Mar. 9, 1919.
$ 25.00	due	Mar. 9, 1919.
$227.78	due	July 18, 1919.
$ 34.22	due	Dec. 3, 1919.
$779.68		

Respectfully submitted,

A. K. HOSTETTER,
Treasurer.

Officers of the Society for 1919.

PRESIDENT,

JUDGE CHARLES I. LANDIS.

VICE-PRESIDENTS,

F. R. DIFFENDERFFER, LITT.D.
H. FRANK ESHLEMAN, ESQ.

RECORDING SECRETARY,

C. B. HOLLINGER.

ASSISTANT RECORDING SECRETARY,

JOHN L. SUMMY.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY,

MISS MARTHA B. CLARK.

LIBRARIAN,

HARRY STEHMAN, JR.

TREASURER,

A. K. HOSTETTER,

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

GEORGE STEINMAN,
MRS. MARY N. ROBINSON,
G. F. K. ERISMAN,
D. B. LANDIS,
MRS. S. B. CARPENTER,
MISS DAISY E. B. GRUBB,
D. F. MAGEE, ESQ.,
L. B. HERR,
H. H. BECK,
I. C. ARNOLD, ESQ.

In Memoriam.

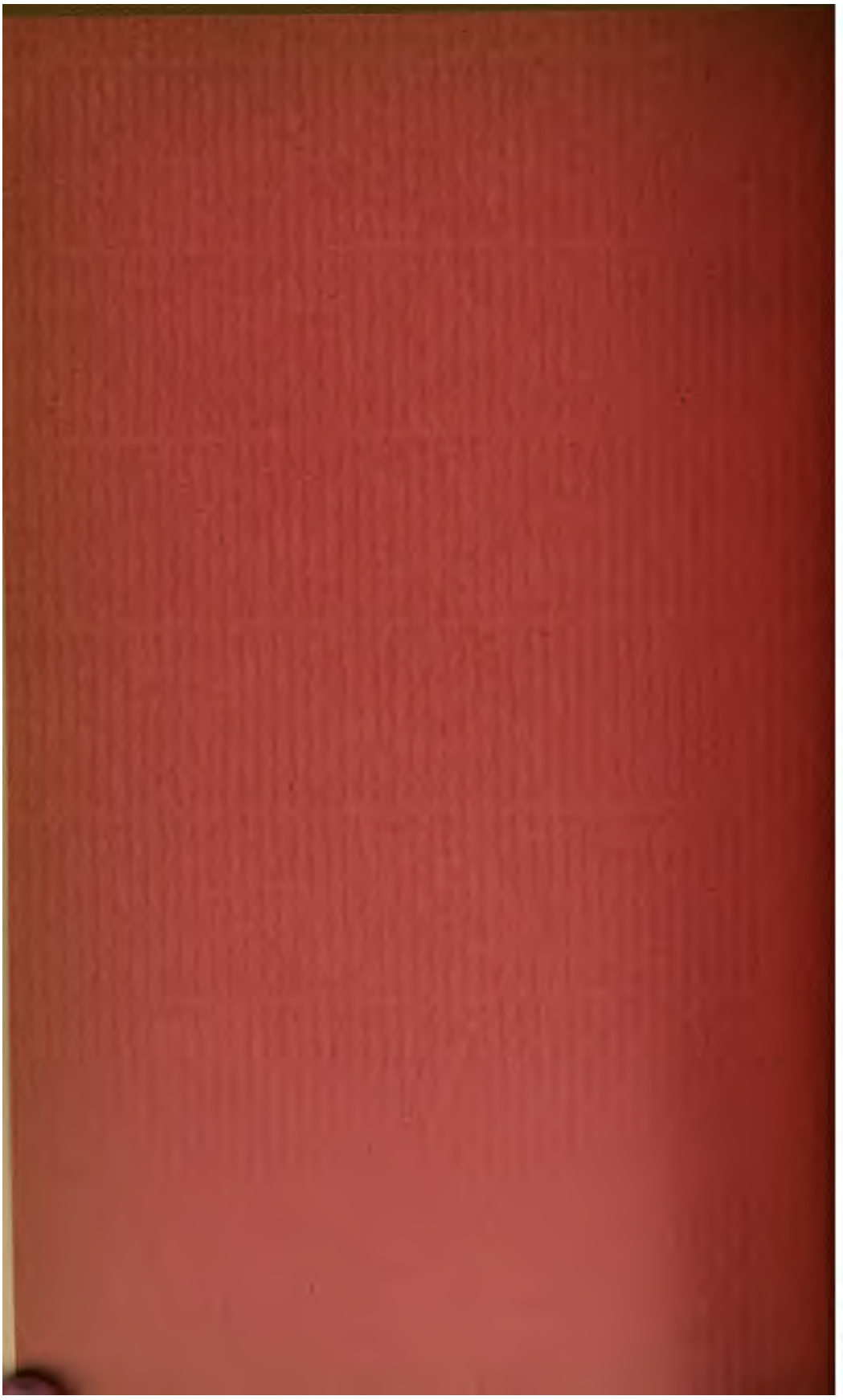
HIRAM E. STEINMETZ.

Hiram E. Steinmetz, a member of the Lancaster Historical Society for many years, died February 21, 1918. Mr. Steinmetz was sixty-four years of age and was born in Clay township, on October 20, 1854, and he attended the township schools. Later he entered Lebanon Valley College, from which he graduated in 1874. Two years later he was appointed postmaster at Clay, the office being in his father's store. He served until 1900, in which year the store property was purchased by A. E. Lane, the present proprietor. Deceased had also been assistant to his father, who served as postmaster during the two Cleveland administrations. Deceased was a staunch Republican. He was a member of the U. B. Church and a trustee of Lebanon Valley College. Mr. Steinmetz was a member of the Historical Society, and he read papers before that body at times.

HOWARD F. RUSSEL.

Howard F. Russel, member of the Lancaster County Historical Society, died March 19, 1918. He was a son of John R. Russel and Anna E. (Zimmerman) Russel and was born July 22, 1849. Deceased was a member of St. John's Episcopal Church and of Lodge No. 43, F. and A. M.





PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1919

"History herself, as seen in her own workshop."

THE EARLY SILK INDUSTRY OF LANCASTER COUNTY

VOL. XXIII. NO. 2.

PRICE TWENTY-FIVE CENTS PER COPY

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The Early Silk Industry of Lancaster County. - - - - - 27
Minutes of the February Meeting. - - - - - - - - - 38

The Early Silk Industry of Lancaster County.

Some time ago, in conversation with Dr. F. R. Diffenderffer, I was surprised to learn to what extent this industry had flourished in our county. about eighty years ago, and he kindly offered me the use of a great deal of information he had on the subject, if I would prepare a paper for this society. I immediately availed myself of the offer and herewith beg to submit to you the result.

Among the most indellibly impressed memories the average mind is capable of reviewing are those of occurrences in childhood's days. Particularly is that the case when we are taught the wonderful works of nature in its various and mysterious forms. When along that line of thought, I can as a child picture to myself two small boxes, with hinged glass tops which occupied conspicuous positions on a "What-not" in our home parlor. The "What-not" in those days was an ornate article of furniture which graced the parlor of nearly every household on the shelves of which were displayed many ornaments and curios such as in these days comprise the contents of a "Curio Cabinet." One of these boxes contained, ornamentally arranged a collection of "Cicada," more familiarly known as the 17-year locusts, migratory and destructive, winged insects, the buzzing sound of whose wings is so familiar to all of us on the hot, sunny days of August. The other box contained a collection of coccoons made by silk-worms nearly all of which many years previously, had been baked so as to kill the worms. A few of the cocoons, however, had been left to nature's ways, and plainly showed the opening through which the matured butterfly, which had been transformed out of the enclosed worm, made its exit from the cocoon. The killing of the worms, above referred to, was done to prevent them from making a hole in the cocoon, and thus destroying some of the delicate silk thread. Many a time when we children were being taught the mysterious workings of nature in the development of these two insects, did we shake the cocoons to hear the noise made by the little ball inside, which we were told in its earlier days was a common ordinary caterpillar.

Another cherished memory in the chapter on childhood's recollections, particularly those of us whose earlier days were spent in the rural districts, was "The old mulberry tree," under which heading an anonymous poet has written the following verses:

"Is there not one among us who wouldn't reserve
Some spot in their earliest days,
When dark, heavy clouds were hung overcast,
And shadowed the sun's golden rays.





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BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1919

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and was owned by David M. Eberly. It was my good fortune, recently, to call at the home of Mrs. A. S. Kauffman, 921 North Prince Street, this city, who is a daughter of Mr. Eberly. Besides being an expert silk raiser he was one of the most prominent horticulturists in the county. He was widely known as a raiser of the finest kinds of fruits and berries, making a specialty of the luscious strawberry. Among Mrs. Kauffman's treasures are a pair of homespun silk stockings, made in their own family, cocoons in white and cream colors, and numerous skeins of homespun silk, some of which had been exhibited at various fairs and exhibits of agricultural products. She also has in her possession one of two medals which Mr. Eberly had won at the "American Institute" in New York City, on the one side of which, within a wreath of mulberry leaves and heads of wheat is this inscription: "American Institute, N. Y., awarded to D. Eberly for the second best cocoons, 1846." On the reverse side is an American Eagle, mounted on a shield, a lady, a ship, a bobbin, a sheaf of wheat, the horn of plenty, etc. In the report of the state fair held in Lancaster in 1852 we find that a premium of $5 was awarded to Mr. Eberly for the best exhibit of cocoons. To Miss Harriet Summy, also of this county, $3 for the second best lot of same variety and $3 for beautiful specimens of silk spun from cocoons. Mr. Eberly also won a premium of $3 for the best specimens of raw and reeled silk and $3 for the best specimens of sewing silk. This cocoonery was, in later years removed to the rear end of the Kauffman lot, where it has been in use as a butcher shop for many years, as it is at this time. Mr. Eberly had an orchard of about 4 acres of *multicaulis* trees.

John Summy, one of Mr. Eberly's neighbors, was also an ardent silk raiser as well as a florist and nurseryman, who had several acres planted in mulberry trees. He was familiarly known by the nickname "Flower Summy."

Jacob Hensel owned a cocoonery and silk mill on New Holland Avenue, near Shippen Street, close to Bachler's greenhouses.

A number of farmers in Manor township became enthused in this new venture, the most extensive of whom were John Wissler and Dr. Mellinger. They planted large tracts in mulberry trees and erected large buildings in which to house the worms, and the outlook was very promising. For several years they prospered until the spring of 1841, when a continuous spell of cold, damp weather, killed many of their worms and caused the raisers to suffer heavy losses. This discouragement was so keen that they abandoned the project, and uprooted many of the trees.

The *Lancaster Intelligencer* of August 7, 1838, announces the arrival of the first number of a monthly magazine issued by Chas. Alexander, Esq., of Philadelphia, conducted by several able silk culturists of New Jersey, known as the "American Silk Grower and Farmers Manual." Subscriptions are solicited by the *Intelligencer*. The writer of this paper is the owner of Volume 1 of this magazine. On page 25 of this volume is a beautiful poem in which Miss H. F. Gould personifies a silkworm, which while feeding on a mulberry leaf was approached by a haughty princess who in scorn and disgust "declared she never yet could see, why a reptile form like this should be," "that she was not made with nerves so firm, as to calmly stand by a crawling worm." "With mute forbearance the silkworm took the taunting

words and the spurning look," and in the last verse gives expression as follows:

No more, said the worm, will I drink or eat!
I'll spin and weave me a winding sheet,
To wrap me up from the sun's clear light,
And hide my form from her wounded sight.
In secret then, till my end draws nigh
I'll toil for her, and when I die,
I'll leave behind, as a farewell boon,
To the proud young princess, my whole cocoon,
To be reeled and wove to a shining lace,
And hung in a veil o'er her scornful face!
And when she can calmly draw her breath
Through the very threads that have caused my death;
When she finds, at length, she has nerves so firm
As to wear the shroud of a crawling worm,
May she bear in mind that she walks with pride
In the winding sheet where the silkworm died.

Minutes of the February Meeting.

LANCASTER, PA., February 7, 1919.

The regular meeting of the Lancaster County Historical Society was held this evening in their rooms in the Smith Free Library Building, the president, Judge C. I. Landis, presiding.

The minutes of the January meeting were read by assistant secretary John L. Summy.

Treasurer A. K. Hostetter presented a report showing a balance on hand January 1 of $138.26; Receipts, $140; Expenditures, $43.26; Balance, $235. The report was accepted.

In pursuance of the action of the society, whereby the president was instructed to appoint a committee to take charge of the collection of data concerning the World War the president appointed the following: A. K. Hostetter, Miss Adelaide B. Spindler and H. Frank Eshleman, Esq.

The president appointed the following other committees:

Committee on Papers: C. I. Landis, F. R. Diffenderffer and Miss Martha B. Clark.

Committee on Library: I. C. Arnold, D. F. Magee, Esq., Prof. H. H. Beck and the president.

The librarian's report was as follows:

Miss Lottie M. Bausman reported an addition of twenty pieces of manuscript from the years 1716 to 1852 concerning the people of Lancaster County. Librarian Harry Stehman, Jr., reported that during the past month the following donations and exchanges in the form of books and magazines have been received:

Kansas Historical Collections, 1915–1918.

Report of Penna. Adjutant-General, 1912.

Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 59.

University of California Chronicle, October, 1918.

Western Reserve Historical Society Collections, December, 1918.

Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine, January, 1919.

Linden Hall Echo, December and January.

Springdale—The Huffnagle Mansion and Its Collection, from Henry D. Paxson, of Philadelphia.

Autographed Message of President James Buchanan to Congress, from Lancaster Free Library.

A History of Schenectady During the Revolution by Willis T. Hanson Jr. of Schenectady, N. Y., from the author.

Bound editions of Weekly Aurora presented by Christian Shaub, of Willow Street, and property of the late Dr. J. C. Shaub, from W. L. Sullenberger.

Also presented by Miss Elizabeth Kendig of North Duke Street the following papers to the Historical Society:

1. Two certificates of indebtedness due by the State of Pennsylvania to John Shade and Luken Gabriel Blakeney, respectively, for 107 pounds and 245 pounds in specie, being for depreciation pay from May 1, 1777, to August 1, 1780, issued by the auditors of the State.

2. Quitclaim by John Smith and wife to Abraham Carpenter, March 11, 1806, for property on North Queen Street, 64 feet 4½ inches, and extending westward to Alley bounded on the north by lot of Casper Shaffner and on the south by George Hortz. Not recorded.

3. Deed dated June 11, 1791, recorded in Book MM, p. 692, by John Carpenter and wife to Mary Smith, farm in Strasburg Township containing 290 acres on Pequea Creek and adjoining John Neff, Geo. Withers and Michael Withers, et al.

4. Indenture dated December 15, 1738—not recorded—for land on Pequea Creek containing one hundred and fifty acres by Mart Bear and Elizabeth, his wife, to Henry Carpenter. Adjoining lands of Henry Hains, Valentine Miller, other lands of Martin Bear and other lands of Henry Carpenter. It being part of three hundred and fifty acres and allowances which Thomas Patton and wife, by deed dated April 13, 1731, and intended to be recorded, granted to Martin Bear.

The auditing committee made report as follows on the annual statement of the treasurer:

LANCASTER, PA., February 5, 1919.

We, the undersigned auditors appointed to examine the accounts of A. K. Hostetter, Treasurer of the Lancaster County Historical Society, do hereby certify that we have duly audited said accounts and find them correct as stated therein, showing the receipts for the year, including balance on hand at the beginning of the year ($66.01) to have been $616.71 and the expenditures $478.45, thus leaving a balance in the Treasury of $138.26.

In addition to the above the Treasurer has also submitted to this committee the following described certificates of deposit issued by the Conestoga National Bank, bearing interest at 4 per cent. per annum.

$31.63	due	Jan. 8, 1919.
253.05	due	Mar. 4, 1919.
208.00	due	Mar. 6, 1919.
25.00	due	Mar. 6, 1919.
227.78	due	July 18, 1919.
34.22	due	Dec. 3, 1919.
$779.68		

All of which is respectfully submitted this 5th day of February, 1919.

L. B. HERR,
D. B. LANDIS,
D. F. MAGEE,
Auditing Committee.

On motion Arither P. Mylin, of Lancaster, and C. E. Kemper, of Staunton, Va., were elected to membership.

A. K. Hostetter brought up the subject of the service flag and President Landis stated that the committee was authorized to go ahead and procure the same.

LANCASTER, PA., January 22, 1919.

The following communication was read by the secretary and ordered placed upon the minutes:

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW ERA:

Dear Sir: The paper on "Fulton Hall and its Graven Image," recently read before the Lancaster Historical Society, when printed in pamphlet form should have an engraving of the original front of the building, which somewhat differs from the present. The architect's plan, with his name on it, is either with the Historical Society or Judge Landis. I gave it to the latter.

Mr. Hager is mistaken when he says that John Sehner (1798–1864) built the Masonic Hall and Trinity Lutheran Church. The Masonic Hall was built by the corporation of Lancaster and Lodge 43 F. A. M. in 1798, before his time. His brother Godlieb was not a carpenter and builder, but an edge tool maker, afterwards in the lumber business, which still remains in the hands of his son, J. Fred. Sener. The Godlieb Sener mentioned in the building of the Masonic Hall was of another family.

Trinity Lutheran Church, the corner stone of which was laid in May, 1761, was during the pastorate of Dr. Krotel in 1853 remodeled in the interior, and John Sehner was the contractor. He was the father-in-law of the writer.

If you desire to use the above, that history may be set right, please spell John Sehner's name as I have written it. His branch of the family always spelt it that way, while the others spelled it Sener. Thanking you in advance.

Respectfully yours,

GEORGE H. ROTHERMEL.

Mr. Hager was shown this, and very much regretted the errors; and suggested that the correction be read before this Society and entered upon its minutes, so as to correct the matter historically.

Mr. Hager also calls attention to a misprint in the name of the engineer Frederick Graff (the last name being misspelled "Groff") on page 147 of the pamphlet that contains his article.

The Recording Secretary was authorized by the chair to acknowledge all donations to the Society in future and also to continue notifying new members of their election into the Society.

The President reported that he had consulted with the Post Office Department concerning placing the out-of-town members on the second class postage list, which if accomplished will reduce the cost of mailing the pamphlets.

Mrs. A. K. Hostetter brought up the question of a permanent home for the Society and suggested that we all strive for that goal. Remarks on the subject were made by Judge C. I. Landis, Mrs. Mary N. Robinson, D. B. Landis and C. B. Hollinger.

The paper of the evening was read by A. K. Hotetter on "The Early Silk Industry of Lancaster County." It was discussed by D. F. Magee, D. B. Landis, Judge C. L. Landis, F. R. Diffenderffer and I. C. Arnold. On motion a vote of thanks was extended the author and the paper was placed in the hands of the committee for publication.

On motion adjourned.

Signed,

J. L. SUMMY,
Assistant Secretary.



PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FRIDAY, MARCH 7, 1919

"History herself, as seen in her own workshop."

LETTERS OF HON. JOHN STROHM

OUTLINE OF JOHN STROHM'S CAREER IN CONGRESS

MINUTES OF THE MARCH MEETING

VOL. XXIII. NO. 3.

PRICE TWENTY-FIVE CENTS PER COPY

LANCASTER, PA.
1919

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Lancaster County
Hist. Society

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1919

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Letters of Honorable John Strohm.

I shall not attempt to disguise the pleasurable feelings that I entertain in being privileged to appear before this organization devoted to the achievements of this historic county. I claim a perfect right to feel at home here, for I am a true Lancaster Countian by ancestral proxy at least. No less than seven generations of my forbears sleep beneath your sod, and all my progenitors apparently had to live for some time at least in this county before they could feel qualified to take up abodes and successfully to pursue their vocations elsewhere.

It has been my good fortune to discover among the manuscripts in the Division of Public Records in the State Library numerous copies of letters by the Honorable John Strohm and yet more addressed to him when he was a member of the Legislature of Pennsylvania. Through the courtesy of Hon. John H. Landis of Millersville I am privileged also to make use of letters written to Mr. Landis' father, Jacob H. Landis, by Mr. Strohm while he was a representative in Congress from this district.

It is not my purpose to write a biography, but rather to summarize the contents of these letters in order to bring them to the attention of your society and make them available for the historians of your county. Yet a very few words on his political career are in order here. He was a member of the House of Representatives of Pennsylvania from Lancaster County from December 6, 1831, until the adjournment of the second session of the 44th House, April 15, 1834. His last term was the first term of Thaddeus Stevens, who then entered as a representative from Adams County.

Mr. Strohm became a member of the State Senate December 2, 1834. Here he met Charles B. Penrose, grandfather of the present U. S. Senator, who was serving his second term. December 4, 1838 he began his second term in the State Senate, this time as a representative of Lancaster and York Counties. In January, 1842, he was elected Speaker of the Senate.

Of Mr. Strohms' connection with "The Buckshot War" I quote the following from Col. A. K. McClure's "Old Time Notes of Pennsylvania," Vol. 1, page 54.

"The appearance of the military had little effect. as the mob was discreetly careful to avoid conflict with the troops. With the mob practically controlling the legislative halls inside, and the militia keeping peace outside, the house kept up the farcical contest between the two speakers until, after a considerable period of disorder, Senator John Strohm, of Lancaster, an Anti-Mason of high character and intelligence, deserted his party and gave the casting vote in favor of recognizing the Hopkins house.

"That practically ended the controversy, as when an Anti-Masonic senate had recognized a Democratic house there was no longer any basis for con-

tinuing the contest. Strohm was bitterly denounced for what was regarded as an act of apostacy, but he lived long enough to be generally and earnestly commended by all good citizens of every political faith for having had the courage to be honest, at the expense of party favor, in the severest crisis that ever confronted the State. Stevens moved to Lancaster some years thereafter and I remember seeing him there in 1851 when I was a delegate to the Whig State convention, and aided in nominating John Strohm as the Whig candidate for canal commissioner. I met Stevens soon after the convention adjourned, and asked him how he regarded the nomination of Strohm. He answered in his curt, grim way: 'He's our candidate now and I forgive him.' He was in Congress during the Mexican War, and one of the thirteen Whigs of the body who had the courage to vote against an appropriation to the army in Mexico because the act began by declaring that 'we are at war by the act of Mexico.' The Whigs moved to strike the offensive, and as they believed untrue, statement from the bill, but were defeated by a party vote, and when they had to meet the question of voting for the bill containing the false statement of historical facts, or vote against appropriating money for the army, all but thirteen supported the measure, but John Strohm believed it to be untrue, and he resolutely voted against the bill. He lived to a ripe old age, and died universally beloved by his people."

Mr. Strohm was a member of Congress from 1845 to 1849.

This collection consists of apparently accurate copies of private letters written by Mr. Strohm to his cousins, John, Henry, and Emanuel Herr in Niagara County, near Buffalo, New York, while the writer was a teacher and farmer; of private letters written by his cousin Isaac Strohm; of numerous letters written by his constituents and friends and the original letters written by him to Mr. Jacob H. Landis, already referred to.

The first of these letters is dated September 27, 1816, and is addressed to

"Cousin John Herr,
"Nr. Williamsville,
Niagara County, N. Y.

"We are all in good health except Hetty. . . . I have commenced teaching school again, where I taught before, and intend to continue it until May and then if God spares me health and strength, I propose making a visit to you and enjoy a repetition of those hours which have been so agreeably passed in your company, and of which the bare recollection is capable of raising pleasing emotions."

To John Herr, January 26, 1817.

"Received yours of October 24 by the hand of Abraham Graff. Christian Bear died December 16th. Andrew McLaughlin died Tuesday in consequence of a wagon running over him the evening before.

"Uncle David Herr is to move in the Spring from John Neffs to Michael Barr's Mill which he has rented for three years at $500 per annum."

He then gives prices as follows:

"Wheat $2.50 at home and $3.00 at Wilmington.

" Rye—1.30

" Corn—1.12½

" (Considerable quantities are purchased by Millers from the lower end of the County and from State of Maryland where a report says the hard hand of famine already presses hard on the poor.) There is a report here that John Herr and his friends had like to have been put to trouble when they were out there, in fact that they had precipitately to leave the country in order to escape going to prison, they deny it and I am disposed to believe them, but expect the truth from you."

JOHN STROHM TO COUSIN HENRY HERR, MARCH 30, 1817.

" Uncle Jacob Witmer and his family intend to start for Ohio in about six weeks.

" John Haines has been at Philadelphia and got the Polypus in his nose extracted."

In this letter he also expresses his satisfaction that the report regarding John Herr is unfounded.

TO COUSIN EMANUEL HERR, SEPTEMBER 28, 1817.

Announces the death of his sister Hetty which occurred while on his trip to New York City.

TO COUSIN EMANUEL HERR, NOVEMBER 24, 1817.

" Our election is over and Wm. Findlay is Governor by between 4 and 5,000 of a majority. The Federals were completely successful in our country. Jasper Slaymaker, John Forry, Hugh Martin, Emanuel Reigart, Henry Hambright and Joel Lightner are our assemblymen and Wm. B. Ross is Commissioner. Parties never ran so high in this state before and should this infernal spirit continue to rise in the same proportion for twenty years to come as it has the last ten years God only knows what the consequence will be."

TO EMANUEL HERR, DECEMBER 26, 1817.

. . . " I am now happy to inform you that on tuesday last I gave my hand to one who has long been my Mistress of my heart and that is Susanna Bear, daughter of John Herr. In her, I expect to find a cheerful companion, a sincere friend, and an affectionate wife with whom I intend to tread the mazy round of life in harmony and love."

TO HENRY HERR, JUNE 3, 1818.

" I live in a house formally occupied by Joseph Mooney where we had the debating school once."

TO EMANUEL HERR, OCTOBER 3, 1919.

" Cousin John Witmer is teaching school at the new sandstone school house. . . . Land is 50% lower than some years ago. Grain is very low. Wheat a dollar a bushel, Rye 60 cents and Corn 50.

" Address your letters to Lampeter Square as there is a post office there now."

On December, 1820, he reports hard times, wheat being 70 cts., corn 35 cts., rye 50 cts., oats 25 cts. and on April 1, 1821, he writes that "he has quit teaching and commenced farming on the place where Jacob Herr formally lived. Wheat sells between 55 and 60 cents per bushel, rye 26 to 28, corn 37½ to 40 cents, oats 20 to 22 per bushel. I bought some at 20."

To Cousin Emanuel Herr, September 20, 1821.

"There are many sick people in our neighborhood particularly along Big Beaver Creek. In almost every house about the Black Horse there are two or three that have got the Ague. In Christian Schultz's there are no less than six."

He then refers to the Internal Improvements projected by the Legislature. He speaks of the Union canal connecting Susquehanna with the Delaware, but says that "an improvement of greater utility has lately been made by some of our enterprizing citizens. Mr Jacob Strickler, of Columbia, has constructed a boat with sails, which is to sail regularly from Middletown, Marrietta and Columbia to Port Deposit. She is called the Lady Lightfoot and has made several trips taking down about 130 bbls. of Flour, and at one time returned with 6½ tons of Plaster, 17 bbls. Herrings, 9 bbls, shad and 1½ tons groceries. Although the water is low, she passes up and down with ease and safety. She made a trip in about 5 days. There are several other such boats built or building at Columbia and Marrietta some of which will carry from 350 to 400 bbls. of Flour. It is calculated that the craft now prepared at Columbia Marrietta etc. will carry 1200 bbls to the head of tide weekly and in high water from 1700 to 2000."

In a letter of January 2, 1825, to Emanual Herr he gives a large list of bankrupt farmers, and on the 30th of April he says: "John Herr's society is increasing very fast. There were 21 persons baptized last Sunday and there are a number of others that have made application."

To Emanuel Herr, August, 1827.

"John Neff, Sr., with Francis Kendig Sr. and John Herr' brother-in-law went to Ohio on a visit.

"The Morgan affair is quite probably an electioneering scheme."

To Emanuel Herr, May 3, 1828.

"Is there any truth in the rumor that Morgan was discovered in Asia Minor in the garb of a Turk and that he has embraced the faith of Mahomet."

He differs with his cousin Emanuel in politics, slightly favors Jackson, and predicts that the latter will carry Pennsylvania and New York.

The letters of Isaac Strohm, Senator Strohm's cousin, a few of which are written from Lancaster County and the remainder from Ohio where he taught school and clerked in a store show unusual ability and discriminating political foresight. Isaac is frank and does not hesitate to differ with his more famous cousin. It is to be regretted that the limits of this paper compel too brief an account of this correspondence.

FROM ISAAC STROHM, LAMPETER, FEBRUARY 16, 1833.

This letter expresses difference of opinion with reference to the admission of negroes into the State "We should pass laws prohibiting them from coming into our state."

As regards the bill authorizing the Governor to purchase 53 copies of Hazard's Register, "I agree that it is mocking the farmers and wasting the publick money. It put me in mind of blowing Buchanans bellows all day. A farmer would be at some *hazard* to get the reading of it when he wanted it and I very much doubt if the gentleman who got up the bill has not *hazarded* his popularity."

Isaac Strohm writes (Dec. 13, 1833):

"Buchanan might as well have staid at St Petersburg and better would it have been for our State if McKean had never been born.

"Rush lights it seems, are not valued more than farthing candles. I dont think this is altogether clever. Let me know how the whole team of Anti-Masonry pulls."

FROM ISAAC STROHM, LAMPETER, MARCH 25, 1835.

"On resuming my pen, I will let you know that I saw Daniel Webster too, but had no introduction to him. I was at Mr. Coopers on Saturday last, and seen him stepping in. On shaking hands with Mr. Cooper, he took of his hat, and displayed a forehead that would bear a phrenological examination.

"So you fellows in the Senate have repealed the School Law. I showed your letter to David, and after reading it till where you expressed a hope that the House would agree to the repeal, he threw it away and would not read another word of it, I state this at his request. Benjamin Herr was with us to day. He says he will write to Stevens—He is of the opinion, that with the aid of Mr. Stevens' talents the School Bill will be saved. If I may express a hope on the subject, it is, that it would undergo some necesſary alterations, and have a longer trial. The Strasburgers' are not yet over their scrape, as you will see by their motions. A pretty cute trick of Mr. T. B. Burrows to screen his sentiments under the skirts of a public meeting. But, as the address of said meeting says 'rumour is my authority' I expect a real gridiron review of these proceedings in the newspapers, by Ellick over his proper signature. If that happens—Wo! be to 'Lord Darby.'"

FROM ISAAC STROHM, ROSSVILLE, OHIO, JUNE 26, 1836.

"I perceive that you have been 'Gerrymandering' in the Legislature, and taking steps to secure a majority of your faith in both branches. If all is fair in politicks, it may do well enough. So that you beat Van Buren (which I think you can) no odds for the means. I begin to entertain hopes of the Gen's success. This State will go for him. Such is the opinion of our knowing ones, amongst others, EX. GOV. MORROW. This county is the stronghold, but many original Jackson men will not go for 'heir apparent.' Indeed I rarely meet with an intelligent man that is any ways decent that is in favor of the Jackson dynasty. Perhaps the expression smacks a little of Aristocracy, but I venture to say that if Van is elected it will be by the 'tag rag and bobtail' of society."

LETTER OF ISAAC STROHM, MAD RIVER, GREEN COUNTY, OHIO, APRIL 15, 1837.

"I remained a couple of days in Dayton where I saw many old acquaintances and had introductions to several new ones—among which was the Hon. Thos. Corwin of Lebanon, who was at Dayton on business. He is a fine looking fellow, and in general appearance resembles Atty Baldwin of Lampeter."

LETTER OF ISAAC STROHM, DECEMBER 31, 1837.

"Governor Ritner's message I gave a hasty perusal. I would not give a fig for his abolition on notes under 10 dollars. Our country would not have got along half so well had it not been for small bills. That part of Ritners relative to Common Schools I opine is from the pen of the *Supe* himself. My dander always begins to rise when I hear and see laudatory things said of Tom on account of his friendship to common schools and Education. After opposing the system as he and Lord Darby have done—then pretend love for education comes with an ill grace from them."

FROM ISAAC STROHM, OHIO, JULY 22, 1838.

"Politics are looking up" Vance will be re-elected. Tom Ewings seat in the U. S. Senate will be secured and whether Harrison, Clay or Webster is the Presidential candidate this state goes the right way. The old General is travelling for 'effects' eating dinners, etc., a bad business. There is much noise about him in some portions of the state, as much, I believe, out of courtesy for him as from a sincere desire that he will be nominated for I really think Clay has more friends than he. I am inclined to think the latter will be the man, even if we must elect him without Pennsylvania."

FROM ISAAC STROHM, SEPTEMBER 16, '38.

"I am pleased to see your name on the ticket for re-election to the Senate. Benjamin Herr informed me that Reigart was to be your competitor in Convention, but I saw by the Examiner that he was cute enough to decline when he saw the complexion of the delegation.

"It appears that John A. Schulze figures as a Ritner man. No matter. His influence will be little anyway. I did not like the man when I was a boy and have seen little yet that would induce me to change my opinion."

ISAAC STROHM WRITES FROM BATHPORT, NEAR FAIRFIELD, GREENE CO., OHIO, OCTOBER 27, 1838.

"The great struggle is over and we as you doubtless know, as well as you Pennsylvanians have been beaten by a talented young gentleman—You by a moral and political rascal—else the truth telling anti-mason papers lie.

"And do you not blush to see the circular issued by Thos. Henry Burrowes. Is he writhing under the sentence passed upon him that with Ritner he must wheel and file off.

"I had hoped to see the Examiner change its *allfired* character after the election, but it appears the hobby (excuse me) of anti-masonry must be mounted again."

Interesting are the letters received by Mr. Strohm from his sons.

The first of these bears date, March 20, 1835. It is from Henry and conveys the information that "Henry Herr says he will come to Lancaster on the first day of April and that you might come along with him out if you choose. He said he would take the dearborne along. Henry Lyner sowed the clover seed this week."

On March 16, 1837, his son John wrote:

"The master quit keeping school on teasday (Tuesday) I went around the fences and shut them up wherever they needed it. I expect we must pick stones now. Our pigs are getting prettier every day. Henry was at home on Sunday, and he is coming on very well."

His son Henry writes, January 28, 1838, that he likes his trade and place very much.

On the second of February, 1838, his daughter Mary writes a brief letter referring chiefly to the weather and the prevalent illness.

On the tenth of February, 1838, John, Jr., gives the information regarding butchering and the school and the rapid disappearance of the hay and fodder; that "Christly Schulze has got the mare yet and I am very glad of it," that "Emanuel is going to school until the first of March."

DECEMBER 9, 1833.

Wm. M. Baxter urges support of charter for Elizabethtown, and thanks him, December 20, for presenting it.

Wm. Heister writes from Washington, December 10, 1833:

He regrets that Rush could not unite Anti-Masonic Vote. Gen. McKean was elected. "Rush should not have volunteered his sentiments of approbation to the Executive on the occasion of the removal of the deposits of the bank controversy."

Heister further says: "We shall be likely to have a great deal of talk on the subject of the removal of the deposits, but in my judgment it will all end in talk, inasmuch as according to the orthodox creed of the dominant party, the Executive can do no wrong and must be sustained at all hazards and under all circumstances."

Samuel Wagner writes December 12, 1833:

"I am told there is considerable warmth among the citizens of the Northeastern part of the county who resides within the section intended to be embraced in the proposed new county."

DECEMBER 12, 1833.

Richd E. Cochran of Columbia writes on behalf of the African Methodist Episcopal Church of Columbia asking for incorporation of that body.

MARCH 21, 1834.

David Herr writes: "I wish you would try if possible to come home for we need you badly. We wish to have Benjamins Seven acres measured of so that we could get the fencing done before the corn is planted, and we want you to make the survey."

DECEMBER 6, 1835.

He writes from Strasbury that "the Anti-Masonic party in the county of Lancaster will feel much aggrieved if his Exelency will appoint Thomas H. Borrows as Secretary of State."

"COLUMBIA March 31 1835

"JOHN STROHM ESQU

"*Dear Sir*

"I take the liberty of introducing to you accquainten Mr Joseph Cothell of this place who visits your town for the purpose of getting some acts passed relative to our road from Marietta to Middletown any assistanc you can give him to further his object I will take as a particular favor.

"I am respectfully yours

"C HALDERMAN"

"LANCASTER July 20, 1836

"AMOS ELLMAKER to JOHN STROHM Esq.

"*Des*

"*Col:* Pleasonton is one of a committee appointed by the military of Philadelphia to petition the legislature for some law relative to the organization of volunteers—

"Permit me to introduce him to you. He graduated at West Point military academy some years ago—and is now a practising atty. in Phila. He is a gentleman of fine talents and excellent education—amiable and honorable in the highest degree—

"I am respectfully

"your obd svt

"AMOS ELLMAKER."

DECEMBER 17, 1836.

Soln. Diller refers to the resolutions of a meeting held at Blue Ball's relative to the formation of a new county to be formed of parts of Lancaster, Chester and Berks and enclosing a copy of Lancaster Examiner containing the meetings proceedings.

"EPHRATA March 25, 1838.

"*Dear Sir:*

"Feeling much interested in the education of the rising generation and the establishment of a general school system I take the liberty of addressing you on the subject, though I have not a child nor kin to be benefitted by it. And as my family have all had their education and neither of them married, what I shall say cannot be imputed to interested motives.

"The 'School System' has always been defeated in this district, by the arbitrary and overawing measures of the rich avaricious landholders, who are too ignorant to see the benefits of the provision of the 'School Law' and too selfish to allow the power class the advantages it affords.

"One instance will afford a general view of the state of things in this township. One of my neighbors, a very wealthy man, a short time before the election, put up advertisements to excite the prejudices of the property holders, and produced an enactment which made all their poor tenants, who are dependent upon the landlord, (though they have many children whom they are not able to give an education) to go to the polls against their wishes and vote against the means to have their children educated or be cast out of their places.

"Disgraceful as is such conduct, much more disgraceful proceedings have been openly practiced. This class of people have managed to get into the office of holding the elections; and at our last election, on 16th inst. the officers holding the election refused to be qualified, as the law required, and consequently could dispose of the votes as they pleased. The result was a 'beggarly account' for the School System—making it appear that nearly three to one was cast against it—while the year before it was lost only by six or eight votes.

"Under these circumstances there is not any prospect of having justice done to the 'System' or to the poor children and my object in addressing you is to see if some other plan cannot be devised to secure the present appropriations due to the township (Cocalico) to the poor who are thus abritrarily deprived of it.

"Could not a provision be introduced to accomplish this object. Either a general amendment or a special one for this turnpike,—to appropriate the sum now due, and according, to the education of the children of non-freeholders; to be paid through the commissioners; for it would not be considered safe to place the money in the hands of men, the 'school men' who have publicly manifested such a wanton disregard of duty and justice in having themselves elected into office, by such foul means, to keep down the poor.

"BENJ. KONIGMACHER."

"MARTIC TOWNSHIP LANCR. CO. NEAR
NEW PROVIDENCE April 11th 1843.

"HON. CHARLES B. PENROSE.

"*My Dear Sir:*

"As Congress is not now in session I trust that your official duties are so far diminished as to allow you a little relaxation, and perhaps give you leisure to attend to private correspondence without neglecting more important business. In your last letter to me, (dated Dec. 5th, 1842) you stated that the present Administration was inclined to regard party conflicts with indifference, and to look more for patriotism and less for party success. Judging from some circumstances that have transpired since that time I feel disposed to think that you were correct at least as far as relates to party success; for it seems to me that John Tyler is perfectly indifferent as to what party obtains the ascendency, provided he can succeed in being re-elected. His recent appointments and nominations to office, comprise not only men from each of the two great parties into which the people of the United States are divided but evince a disposition to keep fair weather with the different

clans and factions into which those parties, are subdivided. To be in favor of Cap. Calhoun, Van Buren, Buchanon, or Scott constitutes no serious objection to the dispensation of his favors but to manifest a partiality for Henry Clay is an offence that cannot be overlooked or forgiven. If I am wrong in this, upon what grounds have Jonathan Roberts, Thomas Sr. Smith, Solomon Van Ransalear and a number of others been removed, and violent Loco focos though preferring different candidates for presidents appointed in this plan. Notwithstanding all the liberal professions made by his Excellency, his attachment to patriotism and merit more than to party success, there appears to be more persecution for opinions sake, under the present administration than was ever experienced under any former one. Such at least are my impressions, and such seems to be the general opinion. It is true, I may have been led into error in some particulars, as the testimony I receive is all on one side, for I never see a paper, or meet with an individual who will undertake to defend John Tyler's Course or Conduct. Some of the Democrats (alias Locofocos) approve of some of his actions, yet I have conversed with no one who was willing to vote for him, on the contrary, I have met with several, who say that, if Buchanan is not the Candidate of their party, they will vote for Henry Clay.

"In your last, you were pleased to advert to the different views and feelings with which you now contemplate the scenes of excitement and party strife thro which you and I have witnessed and in which we participated, compared with the emotions which animated your bosom at the time those scenes were passing. May I take the liberty to ask whether the opinion you once entertained of James M Porter is among those which now seem to have been greatly exaggerated? And whether your prejudices and prepossession in regard to his conduct as president Judge of the the Court of Quarter Sessions of Dauphin County in 1839 have become so 'modified and mellowed down' as to enable you to approve of his appointment to the elevated station which he now holds. For my own part, although I could not approve of Mr Porter even in many things, and particularly on the occasion above referred to, yet I always felt a friendly feeling towards him and had given him credit for a considerable degree of talent and ability and if we must have a Locofoco in the Cabinet from Pennsylvania I am as well content that he should enjoy the honour as any other of the party.

"We have a great many rumours about changes and appointments at Washington one half of which I suppose are the mere conjectures of persons, who have no means of obtaining accurate information on the subject. It gives me pleasure however to observe that amongst the numerous changes spoken of, even Madam Rumour, with all the license usually accorded to her invention fang, has not hinted at a change in the Solicitors office.

"I would like very much to have your opinion in regard to who you think will be the candidate of the so called Democratic party for president.

"With my best wishes for your welfare I remain

"Your humble Servant

"JOHN STROHM."

LANCASTER March 22d 1837.

" MR. STROHM

" *Sir:*

" We the undersigned Committee appointed on behalf of the 'Mechanics Society,' to address you, requesting your aid and influence in striving to procure for our Institute a small Legislative Appropriation. To enable us to establish it on a more permanent basis, and to enlarge its sphere of usefulness.

" Our reasons for applying more particularly at this period, is the recent notice we have seen, that the Phia. and Pittsburgh, Institutes are each about receiving liberal appropriations.

" The Society was established in 1829 solely by the Mechanics of Lanc., for the purpose of founding a Library and School, for Apprentices, the former now contains about 1400 Vols, and the latter owing to the want of funds, we were unable to put in operation untill the present winter, when we obtained the services of several Philanthropic gentlemen, who have taught, and delivered Lectures gratuitously.

" This Institution like many others ere this have dwindled into insignificance, but the unwearied efforts of a few disinterested individuals, who have spared neither time or money, has gradually, though unobtrusively became of some consequence to our City. A large number of Apprentices, have weekly access to the Library gratuitously, and an equal number have had an opportunity of attending an evening School, in which all the branches of a first rate Education were taught, and a Lecture delivered weekly, which we have no doubt will be attended by the most beneficial effects.

" H. C. LOCHER,
" HENRY PINKERTON,
" PETER M CONOMY,
" LOUIS C. JUNGERICH,
" HENRY E. LEMAN."

LANCASTER, Apirl 6, 1838.

" *Gentlemen*—The undersigned, a deputation from the Mechanics' Society of the City and County of Lancaster, have been appointed to ask, at your hands, Some determined effort toward the obtainment of the long-solicited appropriation to that body. We shall not urge our wants—Since the most undeserving might plead the same. We humbly inquire, 'Are we not deserving? Have we not battled long and steadily against adversity, and finally established ourselves upon a footing where benefit and satisfaction to ourselves were the unavoidable result, as well as to community at large? If we are not worthy reject our petition: But if, in our object, you observe aught of that great principle of Educational policy which the State has taken under its especial charge. If you see how anxious we are and long have been to perfect some code of instruction to the young. If you can see how much Society is indebted to voluntary exertions. If you know the benign results of good deeds, take us, we entreat you, under the broad wing of general ligistation.'

We appeal to you late; but, 'better late than never'. We ask you on the

brink of adjournment; but we are confident you will reflect how much can be done in a little time.

		"Peter M Conomy
"John Strohm		"John W. Forney
	Esquires	"Peter G. Eberman
"Jas. A. Caldwell	Senate	"Daniel Rhoads
		"Charles Gillespie
		"Henry Pinkerton
		"Jacob McHarmony
		"Eli. J. Parry
		"David A. Donnely
		"Cn Peieffer"

To Jacob H. Landis, April 28, 1846.

"The Oregon Question has been disposed of. Appearance of Public Grounds much better than when you were here. But this applies only to the Public Grounds. In this neighborhood none of the luxuriant wheat fields, and richly blooming clover fields of which every where greets the eye of the traveller in our native county."

To Jacob H. Landis, May 16, 1846.

"Occupied very little time in passing the important war measure we have been consuming much time in unimportant discussion.

"It is calculated of some who have an opportunity of knowing the facts that the whole expenditures of the Government at this time is not much short of Five Hundred Thousand Dollars per day."

To Jacob H. Landis, August 5, 1846.

Pays his respects to the Loco foco tariff and longs for the time when he can return to Lancaster County.

To Jacob H. Landis, February 15, 1847.

"Whilst I am writing we are taking the vote on the Slavery question. The Wilmot proviso has ben inserted in Committee of the whole. I like to see this. I think it will do much towards bringing about a peace, for if the Southern men find that they cannot have an acquisition of Slave territory they will all be against a further prosecution of the war."

To Jacob H. Landis, February, 1848.

"The efforts to make a turnpike road from Lancaster to Millersville is worthy of encouragement."

He then condemns the new Tariff, predicts that the war will last another year and concludes his discussion of natural issues as follows: "I hope the eyes of the people will be opened to some extent, so as to enable us to elect a Whig President, and then the current of things will be changed, though it will take a long time for the Country to recover from the injuries inflicted by the Administration of James K. Polk.

"The Presidential question begins to be agitated a good deal here. The Taylor men are very sanguine. For my part I don't like General Taylor as a candidate, but if he is settled we shall have to put up with it."

To JACOB H. LANDIS, JUNE 3, 1848.

"A few days ago I made a report on Mr. Secretary Walker's report on the finances which excited a great commotion in the Loco foco ranks. They kicked and floundered a good deal and accused me of unfairness towards the Secretary.

"It seemed to touch a tender spot. The Secretary prides himself on his knowledge of figures and his accuracy of calculation, and to find his sublime calculations commented on, and criticized by a Pennsylvania farmer and a dutchman at that, seems to worry him and his friends very much."

He then reviews the pre-convention situation in the Whig party and predicts the nomination of General Taylor.

Let us give you a single attempt at poetry. One of Strohm's letters to New York closes with these lines:

"After plowing all day I write this by candle light,
Having no more to say I bid you my friend good night,
May the blessings of heaven attend you always
May peace and contentment be yours all your days,
When o'er life's path you may cheerfully roam
And enjoy the best wishes of your old friend

"JOHN STROHM."

Outline of John Strohm's Career in Congress

From the beginning Congressman Strohm's career was marked by a deep concern for internal improvements in the country. He gave his attention early, to the development of the Columbus and Sandusky Turnpike which the company was to build and extend in consideration of 49 sections of public land given to them as an inducement to make the improvement (Cong. Globe, Vol. 15, pp. 83 and 279).

He was also interested in having a canal built on the Ohio River to avoid the falls of Louisville (p. 352).

He was very careful to insist that improvements must not be partially distributed, and that they must be given to the whole country. At first he held there could be no improvements provided for under the constitution except they promote general welfare.

He was greatly concerned about the protective tariff of 1842; and labored for a provision in the improvement grants, that if the tariff were repealed none of the money allotted for improvements should be spent (p. 523).

He labored for the passage of a bill for the relief of Robert Fulton's heirs (pp. 1115 and 6).

His most notable service was for the preservation of the high tariff of 1842. Sir Robert Walker's views on tariff were gaining ground as a result of England's reduction of tariffs inspired by him, and it was being urged that we should gain a great foreign market if we lowered our tariff. The proposed Walker tariff was introduced in 1846, as a successor of the tariff of 1842, and it was enacted with dire results ending in the panic of 1857.

Strohm's arguments in favor of the high tariff of 1842 and against the proposed low tariff of 1846 are to be found in Globe, 15, p. 1027, and in Vol. 16, p. 981, the Appendix. He argued:

1. This is the first time in our history that we reverse our policy of fostering industries and turn to destroying them.

2. That only a revenue tariff is constitutional is an idea long abandoned—our revenue tariffs hurt business and did not produce revenue—destructive.

3. This is the first time discriminating duties are to be used to destroy—not to help.

4. The proposed tariff will prostrate domestic manufacture.

5. It will cause a loss of millions of invested capital.

6. It will not give the farmer an advanced price for grain in England, though the corn laws of England be repealed because we are too far from her market—nearer ones get it.

7. The laborer is cut off from his labor and we will pay an increased price for foodstuffs.

8. Farmers will lose hauling for forges and furnaces, as they will be closed—and will lose these people as customers.

9. The only persons who will profit will be importers.

But the protective system:

1. Promotes resources.

2. By thus promoting, our growth in strength will be our defense instead of standing armies.

3. Our country will be made thereby one of true independence, as we can develop and live without other nations.

4. We will prosper and enable the states to pay their debts to foreign nations held largely against them—and thus establish our credit.

5. Our resources thus established can and ought to be used to build improvements in peace beneficial to our citizens, and to make a happy people.

6. Thus we will extend commercial relations to all sections of our vast country and bind them together and overcome the jealousies of sections still existing.

7. We will get macadamized roads, railroads, canals, harbors and bridges, etc. These will serve well in war to transport troops, munitions, ordnance, stores, etc., in our war with Mexico and other nations if any.

8. We can get these only by rejecting the proposed tariff (1846).

9. Our past shows we were prosperous always under protective tariffs.

10. The condition of the country five years before the tariff of 1842 was enacted (1837) was most deplorable.

Answer to the South:

1. Every article the South purchases has been cheapened by the protective tariff.

2. But if not, "Are they not willing to undergo inconvenience to establish a true independence of their country?"

"My district is agricultural—and raises more agricultural products than any other county in the United States, yet we want the manufacturers to succeed in that district and everywhere."

3. "We are now in war, and must have a tariff that will meet the needs of business—but revenue tariffs meet the needs of the treasury only and change as the treasury's needs changed, not as business and growth need."

These arguments seem odd and worn out to us, but they were novel then. Our country looked bigger to them then than the world looks to us now. There was no need in Strohm's mind to concern ourselves about foreign countries as we had no possible need of them. To establish a "true independence" by making ourselves prosperous and self sufficient was his great idea—perhaps it was the idea at the base of the protective system. His position that "true independence" consisted in being able to ignore the other nations of the world is novel even to us. His thought that a tariff should be used to "develop our strength and resources" so as to make us powerful in war and to compensate for the lack of standing armies, was very enticing. His "internal improvements" to enable us to mobilize, is a provident view and worthy of a great statesman.

From 1847 onward, Strohm presented many petitions for the abolition of slavery. These first came from Quakers in Lancaster County and elsewhere. He was active in trying to clean slavery out of the District of Columbia (Globe).

He took the view that our armies should withdraw from Mexico and that a commission should go there instead, to negotiate peace. But the army was to be kept close by on our border. He saw that it was a "Politicians' War."

He was on the committee on public expenditures, and I think chairman, and took his committee into a thorough investigation of the accounts of the Secretary of the Treasury and reported a discrepancy of $1,400,000. This was a matter as big as the aeroplane discrepancies of our day.

He made a speech on this subject before the House, January 21, 1848, in Committee of the Whole. This was his second big effort (Vol. 18, p. 466).

His last recorded acts were petitions to abolish slavery and to admit no new states except on the provision that slavery be excluded in them. Many of the petitions on this subject were from Lancaster County.

Being followed by Stevens, his record seems quite diminutive, compared with the acts of that great statesman.

The Society's Honor Roll Men in National Service.

Theodore W. Scott, Lancaster, Pa., pharmacist in the U. S. Navy, was 15 years in the Medical Department. He entered the service in May, 1896, and was retired on account of physical disability in July, 1911. He served on many ships and fitted up U. S. Hospital Ship "Solace." Seven and one half years of his service was spent on the seas and he four times circled the globe. The day after war was declared upon Germany he volunteered for service, went to Brooklyn, where he had been employed previously for two years, and was given charge of the drugs sent all over the world. His health broke and he was ordered home on June 1. He died August 4, 1917.

Capt. Sanderson Detwiler, Columbia, Pa., enlisted in old Co. C of Columbia. Now in the 28th Division in France. Is at present Adjutant of the 103d Trains, Military Police, of 4th Regiment.

Harry B. Hostetter, Lancaster, Pa. Enlisted at Independence Hall, Philadelphia, May 16, 1917. Was called into the Naval Reserve force at Sewells Point, Cape May, June 4, 1917. Was transferred to the University of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia, June 19, 1918, where he entered the "Officers Material School." On October 8, 1918, he was commissioned an Ensign, and was stationed on the battleship "Indiana." Was released from service Feb. 7, 1919.

First Lieutenant E. J. Stein, Lancaster, Pa., enlisted in the Medical Corps and sailed for Europe last November 13. On January 6 he was assigned to the Army of Occupation, and is at present on duty in the evacuation hospital of the 3rd Army at Coblenz.

Private Guy Bard, Denver, Pa., went overseas last September. After being twice in hospital over there, he was transferred to the army postal service the middle of last December, being thus employed at present at Nies Chateau in the western part of France.

Private Harry F. Stauffer, Honeybrook, Pa., a native of Farmersville, associated with the Honeybrook Graphic Publishing Co. Was examined by Local Board No. 3 at Christiana, Pa., Feb. 25, 1918. Was sent to Camp Meade where he remained until mustered out December 12, 1918.

Minutes of the March Meeting.

The Lancaster County Historical Society had a largely attended and interesting meeting on Friday evening, March 5, 1919, in their rooms, in the A. Herr Smith Memorial Library Building, on Duke Street. Judge Charles I. Landis presided, and Harry Stehman, Jr., was Secretary pro tem. Oscar D. Brandenburg, of Madison, Wisconsin, and Mrs. C. M. Steinmetz, of Reading, were proposed for membership.

Treasurer A. K. Hostetter announced the sum of $450.25 in the treasury. He also, as chairman of the committee on securing a national service flag for the society, presented the banner, with six stars, denoting that many members in the army or navy. One is gold, in honor of the late Theodore W. Scott, pharmacist of the U. S. Navy. The other members are: Captain Sanderson Detwiler, First Lieutenant E. J. Stein, Ensign Harry B. Hostetter, Private Harry F. Stauffer and Private Guy Bard.

Among the donations reported by Librarian Harry Stehman, Jr., was that of three numbers of the Lancaster Tobacco Journal, of the year 1891, the only tobacco journal ever published in this city. The donor was Dr. Frank R. Diffenderffer, who was its editor.

Miss Lottie M. Bausman announced that she had classified and divided into sections 175 important historical letters and other manuscripts owned by the society.

Custodian H. H. Shenk, of the Public Records of the State Library, read the paper of the evening, "Letters of the Honorable John Strohm." These were compiled by Prof. Shenk from letters written by Congressman Strohm and to him, both while he was in the Pennsylvania State Legislature and while Congressman. He was known as "Honest John Strohm." Some of the letters were written to the late Jacob H. Landis, of Millersville, and were made available to the author of the paper by his son, Hon. John H. Landis.

Librarian Harry Stehman, Jr., reported that the following exchanges and donations were also received by the Society during the past month:

International Conciliation pamphlets.
St. John's Messenger, January and February.
Washington Historical Quarterly, January.
Catholic Historical Society Quarterly, December.
Second Report of the Provost Marshal General, December, 1918.
Linden Hall Echo, February.
Chester County Historical Society pamphlets.
Annual Report of Insurance Commissioner, 1918.
Annual Report of Soldiers' Orphan Homes, 1918.
Annual Report of Secretary of Internal Affairs, 1917.
Annual Report of Commissioner on Banking, 1917.

A copy of February 20 issue of The American Printer (New York), and of the Ben Franklin Monthly (Lancaster), March 1st, containing historic local matter, by D. B. Landis.





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PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FRIDAY, APRIL 4, 1919

"History herself, as seen in her own workshop."



THE LOCATION OF PEQUEHAN
MINUTES OF THE APRIL MEETING

VOL. XXIII. NO. 4.

PRICE TWENTY-FIVE CENTS PER COPY

LANCASTER, PA.
1919

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The Location of Pequehan

In locating the Indian village sites of Lancaster County we find Pequehan has been one of the knotty problems on which historians have had widely different opinions and controversies, without reaching a definite conclusion. Some authorities claim the location is at the mouth of the Pequea Creek, others at the head of the Pequea Creek, others at Paradise and still others at Washington Borough or at Shawnee Town, Columbia, and all claim to have reliable historical data to uphold their views.

This Indian town variously known as Pequea, Pequa, Piqua Town and Pequehan was inhabited by a band of the Piqua[1] tribe of the Shawnee Indians, between 1698 and 1727.

In order to unravel this matter we will follow the history and habits of these Shawnee Indians in a brief manner.

According to the sacred tribal chronicle of the Delaware Indians, called the Walam Olum,[2] the pictographic record of that tribe, we find that the Delawares, the Nanticokes and the Shawneese (each of which were also known by a confusion of other names), were originally known as one people, known as the Algonquin family.

When these tribes separated, the Shawneese were a powerful nation which went southward, but after many years of conflict with neighboring tribes we find them scattered from the Atlantic Coast to the Mississippi.

The early Dutch and Swedish navigators[3] found some of them living on the east bank of the Delaware as early as 1614.

In 1673 Father Marquette states that the shores of what we now know as the Ohio River was then inhabited by the Shawnee Indians in such numbers that they reckon twenty-three villages in one district and fifteen villages in another district, quite near each other, that they are by no means warlike, and they are the people that the Iroquois go far to seek, in order to wage an unprovoked war upon them. He also states that at that time they had glass beads, which proves that before 1673 they were already in communication with Europeans.

Col. Johnson states that the Shawneese have four clans or totems, one of which is the Piqua clan,—Piqua meaning a man formed of ashes. Major Denny[4] in his vocabulary of the Shawneese and Delawares also states that Pequea was their word for ashes.

In 1684 we find Fort St. Louis, a French fort, on the left bank of the

[1] Hannas's Wilderness Trail, Vol. 1, page 148.

[3] Wilderness Trail, Vol. 1, pages 119, 120, 126, 148.

[2] Hand Book of North American Indians, Vol. 2, pages 531 and 898.

[4] Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Vol. 7, page 481.

Illinois River, near which there is a Shawnee village of 200 warriors (perhaps 600 or 800 souls).

At a meeting of the Maryland Council[5] held at St. Mary's, Anne Rundel Co., Md., August 16, 1692, which was presided over by Gov. Copley, some letters were read which had been written to the Governor by Nicholas Greenberry and others.[5] The letters gave accounts of the coming of a number of strange Indians into Maryland, consisting of seventy-two men and 100 women and children which had located at the head of the Chesapeake Bay.

After the letters were read a Frenchman, who had accompanied the above Indians, and who had been "arrested as a spy or party with designs of mischief," was brought before the council and examined through an interpreter. In the statements he made he declared that he had formerly been an inhabitant of Canada, but left eight years ago (1684). His reason for leaving Canada was that he had gone away, without leave of the Governor, to some Indians who had owed him some beaver skins, and when he returned he was imprisoned and placed in irons for several months. When released he made his escape to the woods, and was with these Indians since, chiefly at a fort called St. Louis. When the Indians left there he followed them into Maryland.

After the hearing the Frenchman was imprisoned, but was released October 29, following.

On October 15, 1693, Charles James wrote to Governor Copley from Cecil County, Md., that the king of the Indians together with the Frenchman had been received by Col. Casparus Hermon and the Indians were now residing on his manor (Bohemia Manor on the south bank of the lower Elk River), that they have erected wigwams there, and the Frenchman, he was informed, had an Indian woman for his wife.

At another meeting of the Maryland Council, April 8, 1693, a deposition was read, made by Henry Thompson on March 4, in which he declared that the Frenchman who lives on Col. Hermon's Manor is marked with the letters M. C. upon his breast. He is married to two Indian squaws, and has one daughter aged sixteen years. After more depositions were read, it was found that the Frenchman's name was Martin Chartier.

On February 15, 1693, Col. Casparus Hermon wrote to Governor Copley that Martin Chartier was a man of excellent parts and that he spoke several languages, also that he had been apprenticed to a carpenter while a young man.

According to a French account[6] Chartier may have been one of several Frenchmen who plotted to kill La Salle at Fort Frontenac during 1680, although it was not positively known.

Although I have digressed somewhat from my subject, this same Martin Chartier was no other than the French Indian trader who lived here with the Shawnee Indians.

As many of our Pennsylvania records of this peroid have long since disappeared we can find no statement, then recorded, of when this band of

[5] Maryland Council Proceedings, 3, pages 341, 350, 458, 469.

[6] Wilderness Trail, Vol. 1, pages 132, 133.

Shawneese came to Lancaster County, and for that reason historians differ as to the date of their coming. However, from a number of references found in Pennsylvania Colonial Records and Archives made at a later date we conclude that they arrived either during 1697 or 1698.

In a message sent May 21, 1728, by Governor Gordon to the chief of another band of these Shawneese then living "above the forks of the Delaware," he informs them that the Shawnees were not in Pennsylvania at the time of William Penn's first treaty in 1683, that they came long afterward and they desired permission of the Conestoga Indians and of William Penn to settle in this county, that they promised to live in peace and friendship with us. And the Conestoga Indians became security for their good behavior.

In a report by a committee[7] upon claims of the Delawares and Shawneese (given in The Votes of Assembly, Vol. 4, page 517, 1755) the committee state that "after making their best inquiry they have come to the conclusion that the Shawnee came to Conestoga with about 60 families about 1798."

I have given the above items concerning the movements and character of this clan or band of Shawnee Indians to show that they were roving or nomadic and did not live at any one place very long, and as they moved from one place to another the location of the site of Pequea or Shawnee town was changed.

From the testimony of a Susquehanock Indian before the Maryland Council, April 11, 1693, concerning the Shawneese which had settled on Col. Hermon's land, he stated that there were two bands of them, one band went northward, and the other desired to settle in peace with them (the Susquehanocks).

The band, which went north, remained for a time along the Delaware, as stated above by Governor Gordon, and were located at various places in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, where we also find Pequa towns on our early maps. And as these two bands were driven westward by the encroachment of Europeans and settled at various places we find Pequas and Shawnee towns along their route through Pennsylvania and into Ohio.

But let us now confine ourselves to the location or locations of the Shawnee town sites in Lancaster County. We have already stated that this band of Shawnee Indians came here with Martin Chartier about 1797.

In a report made before the Maryland Council and Assembly June 1, 1697, John Hans Steelman, an Indian trader who was then trading with the Indians, while giving a census of the Indians located here, states: "The Susquehanocks and Sennecas, about forty lusty young men, besides women and children live at Conestoga, and the Shawnees about thirty men, besides women and children, live within four miles of Conestoga, farther down." He does not call the Shawneese Pequas nor their town Pequehan, yet these are no other than those designated by those names a little later on. Neither was the Pequea Creek known by that name at that time, as we find by maps prior to that period the name of this stream was Ocquandery.[8]

We know that at the above date (1697) the Susquehannas and Senecas,

[7] Watson's Annals, Vol. 2, page 194.

[8] Herman's Map, Lanc. Co. Hist. Soc., Vol. 14, No. 3, page 94.

or Conestogas as they were called a little later, were located in a fort or stockaded town (which Steelman calls Conestoga), on what is now The H. G. Witmer farm about a mile south of Washington Borough.

And " about four miles farther down " reaches an Indian town site, which is on what is now the Dr. Hiestand farm, on the north side of the Conestoga about one half mile north of Safe Harbor, where we have ample evidence of an Indian village site, for a considerable period, by the abundance of Indian implements and pottery and European or Indian trader articles such as glass beads, brass kettles, iron tomahawks, knives, clay pipes, jews harps, buttons, thimbles, rings, scissors, guns, bullets, brass bells, etc., which are found there.

Although the town site is on the Dr. Hiestand tract an occasional Indian grave is found on the north side of the Conestoga at several places between Dr. Hiestand's farm and the Rock Hill bridge.

During September, 1705, James Logan,[9] who was Penn's secretary, held a peace treaty with the Indians here and his report states that he gave the Shawneese straw coats and Indian jewels (glass beads) to the value of nearly twenty pounds (£20). Logan was very influential with the Shawneese at this period and for many years afterward and their chief Sheckallany[10] named one of his sons James Logan in honor of the Provincial Secretary.

This same tract of land[11] was first granted to James Logan, but he refused to accept the grant.

The minutes of Council of 1706[12] state that " Wm. Penn when last in this country in 1770 visited the Chiefs of the Shawneese, the Conestogas and the Gawnese on the Susquehanna, also his son after him, in order to friendship," an event which alone should hallow this as a historic spot.

The first account in which we find the name Pequehan is when Governor Evans gave an account of his trip here to the Pennsylvania Council, July, 1707. From which the following is taken:

" Gov. Evans and his retinue of officers set out from Newcastle [Friday], June 27, 1707. Next morning [Saturday, June 28] arrived at Octararo, and the evening of the same day arrived at Pequehan, when they were received by Martin Chartier and Oppessa, Chief of the Shawnees. Monday, June 30, they went to Decanoga, which he states was on the river Susquehanna about nine miles distant from Pequehan."

Decanoga must have been an appointed place of meeting the Governor for the Indians of many miles around, as Governor Evans states they held a meeting with the Shawnees, Senecas, Conoys, and with Nanticokes from seven towns.

According to the distance Governor Evans gives, Decanoga must have been at the present site of Columbia, as we know there was also a Shawnee town[13] there at that period, which was about nine miles from the site of Pequehan on the Dr. Hiestand farm.[13]

[9] Col. Records, Vol. 2, page 244.

[10] Wilderness Trail, Vol. 1, page 197.

[11] Third Pennsylvania Arch., Vol. 4, map No. 11.

[12] Watson Annals, Vol. 2, page 178.

[13] Ellis & Evans, Lanc. Co., page 539, also Lanc. Co. Hist. Soc., Vol. 17, No. 8.

Day[14] states that Decanoga was the Indian village at Locust Grove near Bainbridge, which I can clearly prove is an error, as that was the Conoy Indian village of Conejaghera, but which will be a subject for a future discussion.

Governor Evans continues that they returned to Pequehan that night—this appears to have been the Governor's principal stopping place while here, as it will be seen above. He also spent Sunday, June 29, there.

Tuesday, July 1, they visited Conestoga (at the present H. G. Witmer farm), and next morning, Wednesday, July 2, Paxtang, another Shawnee town (near what is now Harrisburg), after which they returned to Philadelphia by way of Tulpehocken.

This account appears in full in Colonial Records, Vol. 2, pages 386–390, the same citation which Rupp gives in "Lancaster County History," page 46, but in his copy of it he states: "Pequehan at the mouth of the Pequea Creek." This interpolation is not shown in the Colonial Record, nor anywhere else that I have found, except by later historians who have copied from Rupp.

We know that the Shawnees lived at Pequehan from about 1697 until about 1718, when they moved to the tract at Washington Borough granted to Martin Chartier in 1717, and where he died in 1718,[15] when his son Peter came in possession of it. The latter and a remnant of the Shawnees left it about 1728 upon their migrating westward.

This shows that they were located at Pequehan about twenty years, and in that period there were many deaths, and their graves give us the evidence of their village site today. But there is no such evidence whatever at the mouth of the Pequea Creek, nor is there any evidence of a village site of that period south of the mouth of the Conestoga.

As additional evidence that Pequehan was located on the Dr. Hiestand farm we submit the following, also an item from the Colonial Records of 1707:

"Martin Chartier, who was returning *from his trading station near Conestoga*" (Rupp, page 53) and another item which Rupp gives only a portion of—"Martin Chartier, a Frenchman,[16] who lived long among the Shawnees Indians *and upon Conestoga.*"

Watson[17] refers to an original deed dated April 8, 1725, from Wiggoneeheenah in behalf of all the Delaware Indians concerned which grants to Edmond Cartlege a piece of ground, formerly Wiggoneeheenah's plantation, lying in a turn of the Conestoga Creek called Indian Point (no acres or bounds are mentioned). The Indian signatures and seals are curious. The seal is of red wax impressed with a running fox, and the Indian signature in lieu of his signature is a tolerably good drawing of a similar animal. In this connection it must be remembered that as the Delawares and the Shawneese were both of the Algonquin family they frequently lived together and intermarried and had interests in common.

[14] Day's Hist. Coll. Pennsylvania, pages 391 and 410.

[15] Wilderness Trail, Vol. 1, page 171.

[16] Wilderness Trail, Vol. 1, pages 170 and 172.

[17] Watson Annals, Vol. 2, page 172.

John Cartlege was the earliest justice here, which was then part of Chester County. He was also an interpreter and became the Indian agent. John Cartlege and his brother Edmond owned 500 acres and 400 acres of land respectively, which included the Dr. Hiestand farm (now known as the Binkley farm) and extended along the north side of the Conestoga to the Rock Hill Bridge. This tract is a few hundred yards southeast of the "Brenneman farm" (now also owned by Dr. Hiestand), where the Conestoga Indians located their Conestoga Indian town about 1716 (after leaving the H. G. Witmer farm), and where the massacre occurred December 14, 1763.

As no bounds are given in the Wiggoneheenah deed it is impossible to locate "Indian Point" definitely, yet it is almost certain that it was the point of land extending from the Rock Hill Bridge to the mouth of the Little Conestoga, where Edmond Cartlege built a mill[18] at this early period.

I believe it will be of interest to relate here what appears, if nothing more, at least an odd coincidence. During the fall of 1912, while Benjamin Lefever and his son were plowing a field on the above tract, they uncovered an Indian grave, which contained parts of a skeleton, a brass kettle, an iron tomahawk, some glass beads, red paint, and a clay tobacco pipe of Indian *make with a tolerably well inscribed figure of a fox extending around the bowl of the pipe.* These articles are in the collection of the writer.

Now that we have fully established the location of Pequehan, let us briefly review other Shawnee town locations. We have already referred to Paxtang, to Shawnee Town, Columbia, and to Martin Chartier's at Washington Borough, all of which were Shawnee locations, but as there never has been any real grounds for believing that any of them were known as Pequea or Pequehan we dismiss them from this discussion.

From the minutes of a meeting[19] of the Commissioners of Property at Philadelphia, January 2, 1718, we find an order was given to grant 500 acres of land to Col. John F. French, "in or near the Shawannah Old Fields at the head of the Pequea Creek." I have been unable to locate such a town site near the head of the Pequea Creek which were Indian habitations of this period, and as very little was known of "Shawannah Old Fields," and as it never was known as Pequea, we dismiss that also.

In conclusion, we will give extracts from a publication for the Paradise Lyceum[20] dated 1842, containing an address and traditionery matter on the Paquaws, by Redmond Conyngham, the following:

"When the first settlers of the Great Flats of Pequea arrived (about 1710) they were received by Bever Chief of the Pequea who gave them the use of his cabin at the base of the hill, then notified King Tawana of their arrival and next day they were introduced to King Tawana who lived on the Great Flats of Pequa, Mary Ferree was one of the first settlers there, who was granted the tract of land on which Paradise is now located."

He also gives a speech made by Tawana, which refers to Penn's Treaty

[18] See Penna. Arch., Second Series, Vol. 19, page 644, also Rupp, Lanc. Co., pages 115–116.

[19] See Penna. Arch., Second Series, Vol. 19, page 625.

[20] For the use of this rare pamphlet I am under obligations to Redmond Conyngham, Esq., Lancaster, Pa.

at Shackamaxon. "When Tawana was asked by the Council whether he is a Delaware, he replied, 'The Delawares were a tribe of the same great nation, you people call us Delawares—we are Paquaws.'"

"The noble Indian King's bones repose with those of his fathers' in the Indian Field at Paradise. A pile of stones marked his grave. All Saints Church is erected on the Indian Burial Ground."

How much of this is fact and how much is fiction I do not know. Tawana was one of the Indian Chiefs at a treaty in Philadelphia in 1701, but he was a Conestoga Indian, not a Shawnee Indian.

The Mary Ferree tract was not so very far from the "head of the Pequea," but as it was not the location of the tract granted to Colonel French it is not "Shawanna Old Fields." Doubtless there are Indian remains found in the vicinity of Paradise as there are in many other places in Lancaster County, but so far as I could ascertain, no trader articles are found there to indicate that there was a recent Indian town site there.

What is now Paradise was a portion of what had been Chester County. Pequea Creek must have received its name from the Piquea Indians and it would be interesting to know why it received that name, although fifteen miles distant from the western part of the county where Pequehan was located. But nevertheless the Indian village site of Pequea, or as Governor Evans called it, Pequehan, was located on what is now the Dr. Heistand farm, on the north side of the Conestoga, about one half mile north of Safe Harbor.

DAVID H. LANDIS.

DESCRIPTION OF MAP.

1. Pequehan, a Shawnee Indian village from 1698 until about 1716.

2. Where Martin Chartier and a band of Shawnees lived after leaving Pequehan and where Martin Chartier died in 1718. This tract of 300 acres was then granted to his son, Peter Chartier, who emigrated westward with the Shawnees about 1728.

3. Tract granted to Edmond Cartlege, an Indian trader and brother of John Cartlege.

4. Tract granted to John Cartlege, who lived where George Baker now lives (formerly Daniel Shenk). After John Cartlege it was occupied by Andrew Cornish and later by the Wrights. (See LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY PROCEEDINGS, Vol. XII, No. 4, pp. 152–164.)

5. Location of Edmond Cartlege's mill of 1712. (See *Pennsylvania Archives*, Vol. XIX, pp. 569 and 644.) This is doubtless "Indian Point."

6. The Rock Hill bridge.

7. Earliest road from Philadelphia to the Indian towns "on the Susquehanna."

8. A stockaded Indian village or fort inhabited during a long period by the Susquehannock Indians later known as Conestogas, until about 1716 (probably a few years earlier), when they "moved from thence further down to Conestoga." (See LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL PROCEEDINGS, Vol. XIV, No. 3, pp. 102–105.)

[21] Futhey & Cope, Chester Co., page 200.

9. The Conestoga Indian town where the last remnant of the tribe lived, from about 1716 until they were massacred by the "Paxton Boys," December, 1763. (See LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY PROCEEDINGS, Vol. XVIII, No. 7.)

10. "Susquehannock Fort," a stockaded Indian village where the Susquehannocks were finally conquered by the Senecas in 1675. (See LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY PROCEEDINGS, Vol. XIV, No. 3.) A note on Herman's map of 1670 also clearly tells us that Susquehannock fort was located ten or twelve miles down stream from the Conewago Falls, which is additional proof of the correct location of Susquehannock fort. ("Wilderness Trail," Vol. I, p. 54. See also, Eshleman's "Annals of the Susquehannocks," pp. 79–91.)

11. Blue Rock, a large blue limestone rock along the shore of the river. At this location the town of Blue Rock was boomed in 1814, but on account of the death of the promoter the project was abandoned. (Ellis & Evans, "History of Lancaster County," p. 961.) This tract was recently purchased by Frank C. Wittmer (formerly the farm of A. G. Herr).

12. Blue Rock Ferry, employed as a ferry by Indian traders before 1712; probably the earliest ferry across the Susquehanna River. In 1730 Col. Thomas Cresap was given a title for this ferry, "the Isle of Promise," and the tract where he located his fort, by the Maryland Government. May, 1734, a petition was granted for a road extending from near John Minshalls on the Chester County line to Blue Rock. May, 1741, a petition was presented by John Ross, keeper of Blue Rock Ferry, and others for a road from the town of Lancaster to Blue Rock Ferry. This road (The Blue Rock Road) was not completed, however, until 1749. April 11, 1793, a charter was granted for a bridge across the Susquehanna from Blue Rock to Pleasant Garden, York County.

13. Fort built by Col. Thomas Cresap in 1729 (now the cellar of the residence of Bert Leiphart), where Col. Cresap attempted to defend Maryland's northern boundary which resulted in "The Cresap War." (Evans & Ellis, "History of Lancaster County," pp. 15–16, also LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY PROCEEDINGS, Vol. XIII, No. 9. Also Rupp's "History of York County," Chapter 2.)

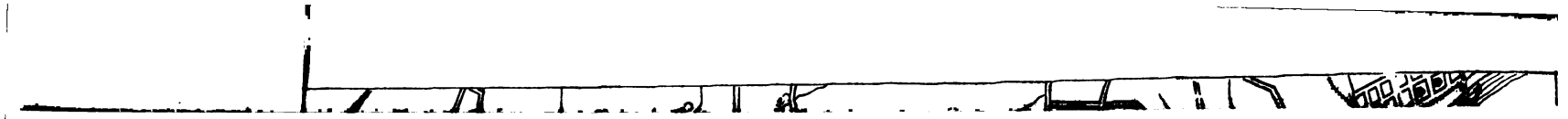
14. "Postlethwaite's," the first county seat of Lancaster County, 1729 and 1730. (LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY PROCEEDINGS, Vol. XII, No. 4; Vol. XIX, No. 8; Vol. X, No. 11.)

15. Rocks with Indian picture writing—"Big Indian" and "Little Indian" rocks, about one-half to one-quarter of a mile down the Susquehanna River from the mouth of the Conestoga River

16. Rocks with Indian picture writing on Neff's Island near Buzzard Rock. (See "Photographs of Inscriptions made by our Aborigines," by D. H. Landis, 1907.)

17. Rock with Indian picture writing about three-fourths of a mile down the river from Creswell Station.

18. "The 40th parallel," or the line on all maps which separates the 40th and 41st parallel, which according to Lord Baltimore's charter of 1632 was the northern boundary of Maryland. This line was then designated by Susque-



hannock Fort. (See LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY PROCEEDINGS, Vol. XIX, No. 3.)

19. The earliest survey made in what is now Lancaster County. During July, 1700, in pursuance of an order given by Penn's Surveyor General, Thomas Holmes, "Benj. Chambers of Philadelphia and a force of men surveyed and marked out this direct line from Philadelphia to near this Indian Fort." It was really a road, as the Indians were told it was intended for the route over which the "Indian Walk"—two days' journey to the Susquehanna—was to be made, which measured the territory Penn had made a treaty for. It covers about the same route as the "Long Lane" and the old road from Philadelphia to Conestoga. The minutes of Council state that during this same year "Wm. Penn visited the chiefs of the Conestogas, the Shawnees and Ganawees (Conoys) on the Susquehanna, in order to friendship." (Watson's "Annals of Philadelphia," Vol. II, pp. 175, 176, 178.)

During this period Wm. Penn still adhered to his fond hope of building his "chief city" on the Susquehanna and which he was trying to boom at this time. The tract he had intended for it was the river frontage between what is now Creswell Station and Bainbridge, contained 100,000 acres, extending eastward about as far as where Lancaster City is now located. It was to be connected with Philadelphia not only by the route already surveyed and marked out, "but also by a canal by way of the Conestoga and French Creeks and the Schuylkill River." (See LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY PROCEEDINGS, Vol. II, No. 1, also Vol. II, No. 8.)

On the York County side of the river, opposite this tract, during June, 1722, Springettsbury Manor was surveyed. (Carter & Glossbrenner's "History of York County," Chapter II.)

20. Tract of 200 acres granted to James Patterson, the Indian trader, where he died, 1735, at what is now the farm house of Chas. B. Lehman. (Evans & Ellis, "Lancaster County History," p. 16.)

21. Boundary of Penn's Manor of Conestoga, which he reserved after being unsuccessful in his effort to found a city on the Susquehanna. It was surveyed and taken up by settlers after Penn's death in 1717, and later. (Third *Penna. Archives*, Vol. IV, Map 11.)

22. An old Wright homestead of Indian tradition. Near a spring on the north side of the road, a short distance from this property was the Isaac Kuhn home where Rupp states: "He was in the last Indian cabin." (Rupp, "History of Lancaster County," p. 356.)

23. Where John Penn visited, April 15, 1788, and decided to reserve 200 acres for the location of a "county seat." (LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY PROCEEDINGS, Vol. XII, No. 4, p. 16.)

24. The Indian village of "Decanoga," where Governor Evans held a peace treaty with the Indians, June 30, 1707. In 1725 it was known as "Shawneetown." (Ellis & Evans, "History of Lancaster County," pp. 542–543, also LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY PROCEEDINGS, Vol. XVII, No. 8.)

Minutes of the April Meeting.

LANCASTER, PA., Friday, April 4, 1919.

The regular meeting of the Lancaster County Historical Society was held this evening in their rooms in the A. Herr Smith Memorial Library Building, on North Duke street, with Judge Charles I. Landis presiding. A unique donation, among the list announced by the librarian, was the Washington's Birthday Anniversary Celebration programme of the Y. M. C. A., with the Third U. S. Army of Occupation at Coblenz, Germany, on February 22, last, donated by Y. M. C. A. War Worker Edgar H. Levan, of Lancaster, now located at Coblenz, directing the music of the "Y" for the American soldiers.

Librarian Stehman announced the following other exchanges and donations received during the past month for the Historical Society library:

Publication of the Federal Board for Vocational Education.

Metric Manual for Soldiers.

March Linden Hall Echo.

The Pennsylvania Magazine for October and December.

March Wisconsin Magazine of History.

New York State Library Bulletin, Nos. 10 and 11.

New York Historical Society Collections, 1917 and 1918.

Report of the State Commissioner on Banking for 1918.

Report of the State Board of Public Charities, 1917.

Programme of Twentieth Annual Dinner of Pennsylvania Society of New York City.

Some Reminiscences of Noted Men and Times from the Lebanon County Historical Society.

Lancaster County Historical Society pamphlets from M. T. Garvin.

Vice President H. Frank Eshleman read a short account of the record of John Strohm, of Lancaster, in Congress, as a supplement to the paper on Congressman Strohm, read at the March meeting by Custodian H. H. Shenk, of the Public Records of the State Library at Harrisburg.

The main paper of the evening was the work of D. H. Landis, of Windom, and was read by Mrs. Landis. The subject was "The Location of the Indian Settlement at Pequehan." The paper was an especially interesting and valuable contribution to local lore, as Mr. Landis is recognized as an authority on the aborigines of this section of Pennsylvania.

Oscar D. Brandenburg, of Madison, Wis., and Mrs. C. M. Steinmetz, of Reading, were elected to membership; and Paul R. Garrison, of Columbia, and Mrs. Laura V. Conner, of Waynesboro, Va., were nominated.

Treasurer A. K. Hostetter announced a balance of $304.30 in the treasury.

He also stated in writing that an original letter by Major John Andre was in safe keeping for the Historical Society in a deposit box of the Conestoga National Bank.

LANCASTER, PA., March 8, 1919.

Hon. Charles I. Landis,
President Lancaster County Historical Society,
Lancaster, Pa.

Dear Judge Landis:

In further reference to the letter about which we spoke last evening, I beg to state that on June 18th, 1914, that letter was handed to me for safe keeping and since then has been placed in a safe deposit box in the Conestoga National Bank.

Upon having received the same, I gave Mr. Steinman a receipt, a copy of which I submit herewith, as follows:

"June 18, 1914, received from Mr. George Steinman, President Lancaster County Historical Society, for safe keeping a letter of John Andre, dated April 10th, 1776, written to Eberart Michael; also a copy of the reply by Mr. Eberart Michael, dated April 26th, 1776.

Evidently this original receipt is not filed in the archives of our society, *where it should be*, and I, therefore, send you this letter so that the society may have some record of the whereabouts of the letter. The ownership of the letter is plainly indicated on the outside of the wrapper, in which it is enclosed.

In addition to the above, I also beg to acknowledge herein, the custody of the "Hudson-Fulton Medal," in its original leather and plush case. I also gave Mr. Steinman as President of the society, a receipt for this medal, but unfortunately do not have a copy of said receipt.

Awaiting your acknowledgment of the receipt of this letter, and also the pleasure of the society regarding the matter, I remain.

Yours truly,

A. K. HOSTETTER,
Treasurer Lancaster County Historical Society.





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PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FRIDAY, MAY 2, 1919

UNIVERSITY

"History herself, as seen in her own workshop."

A LANCASTER GIRL IN HISTORY,
By Hon. John H. Landis.

MINUTES OF THE MAY MEETING.

VOL. XXIII. NO. 5.

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1919

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A Lancaster Girl in History, - - - - - - - - - - 85
By Hon. John H. Landis.
Minutes of the May Meeting, - - - - - - - - - - 95



BARBARA FRIETCHIE.

A Lancaster Girl in History.

Although it is more than 152 years since Barbara Frietchie was born and fifty-six summers have come and gone since that famous day when she waved the stars and stripes over the heads of an army of Confederate raiders which furnished Whittier with the subject of his historic poem, there are those among us even now who doubt whether such a person ever lived.

It was largely because John Greenleaf Whittier was my favorite poet, and because Barbara Frietchie was a Lancaster girl by birth, and because of the numerous doubts I heard expressed as to the truth contained in Whittier's poem entitled "Barbara Frietchie," that I determined to investigate, and establish if possible the truth of the statements contained in his poem. I first visited Frederick, Md., in July, 1886, and then interviewed many who had a right to speak for the patriotic old lady. From investigations made since and from comparing what I learned from different persons at different times I am fully persuaded that practically all of Whittier's poem was founded upon fact.

Very little is known of Barbara Frietchie's parents. On the inside of the front cover of the family Bible is written the following:

"This Bible belongs to Niclaus Hauer, born in Nassau-Saarbrucken, in Dillendorf, Aug. 6, 1733, who left Germany May 11, 1754, and arrived in Pennsylvania Oct. 1, of the same year."

This Bible is bound in calf; the sides are oak boards and it was printed in German by Christopher Sauer, Germantown, Pa., in 1743. Barbara Frietchie gave it to a Mrs. Mergardt, of Frederick, Md.

Nothing else is now known of her parents, except that they first settled in Lancaster, Pa. They were members of the First Reformed Church. The church record of births and baptisms shows that Nicholas and Catherine Hauer had three children born and baptized during their residence in Lancaster—Catherine, Jacob and Barbara. They were baptized by the pastor, Rev. Wm. Hendel. Barbara was born December 3, 1766, and was baptized on December 14, 1766; her sponsor was Barbara Gamber. The family moved to Frederick, Md., either in 1767 or 1768.

Barbara was a very positive character even as a girl, she was very public spirited, and was somewhat of a leader among the young folks with whom she associated. Among the many events of her life that were more or less of interest in her early days was in 1791, when President George Washington had occasion to visit Frederick and spend the night there. He stopped at Mrs. Kimbal's Hotel (where the City Hotel now stands). That evening there was a quilting party at the hotel, and Barbara, then a young lady of twenty-five was there. As soon as word came that Washington would spend the night there she offered to bring her Liverpool china tea set, to grace the table,

which was accepted, and she was one of the ladies selected to wait upon the President at the table. The blue china teapot which Washington used upon that occasion is now among her grandniece, Mrs. Abbotts', mementoes.

In 1799 after Washington's death a sham funeral was held in his honor in Frederick, and on this occasion Barbara was chosen as one of the honorary pall-bearers.

On May 6, 1806, at the age of almost forty, she was married to John Casper Frietchie, who was then only twenty-six years of age. The service was performed by Rev. Mr. Wagner, of the German Reformed Church, Frederick, Md. Her husband was a glove-maker and his gloves were in great demand in Maryland, Pennsylvania and Ohio. He died on the 10th of November, 1849. A near neighbor when a girl who was often in his shop where he was working and who told me about him and Barbara, is Mrs. Elizabeth Zeigler, now in her ninetieth year, who today lives in the second house from where the Frietchie home stood.

Barbara was a very thrifty and industrious woman. She spent much time in spinning and knitting. Her great, great niece, Miss Eleanor D. Abbott, of Frederick, gave me a piece of linen made from flax spun by Barbara Frietchie and on which Miss Abbott embroidered the American flag and Barbara's name.

For many years she could frequently be seen sitting at her window, dressed in a black satin gown, busily engaged in knitting.

Mrs. John H. Abbott, her great niece, told me how "Aunt Frietchie," as she called her "was very fond of children, and was very good and kind to them, though she never had any of her own." She said: "We knew that when Aunt Frietchie told us to do anything we had to obey. When she got tired of us she would say, 'now run home,' and we knew we were expected to leave at once."

Mrs. Frietchie had considerable trouble from time to time after her husband's death owing to her strong utterances on the subject of human slavery and her devotion to the cause of the Union. Her husband's will was written by Dr. Albert Richie, of Frederick, Md., who was named as executor. She had a life tenure in the estate. After the doctor's death, which occurred in 1857, under the laws of Maryland, his three nephews became administrators. Of these Valarius Ebert was acting administrator and whenever he paid her her interest they had warm words about the war, his sympathies being quite strongly with the Confederate cause. On various occasions, she is said to have denounced him as an "arrant rebel." This friction between them seemed to continue to increase, so she finally persuaded Dr. Lewis H. Steiner, an Elder of the Evangelical Reformed Church, of which she was a devout member, to accept her power of attorney to transact her business for her, which he did until the time of her death. While she was a woman of very positive convictions, a strong, fearless character, who held pronounced views on public affairs, she had a desire to live as peaceably as possible in her old days, with even those with whom she so radically disagreed upon questions growing out of the war.

Barbara did most of her house work until she was nearly ninety-five years of age and even then she spent considerable of her time in looking

after sick soldiers and cheering up despondent and discouraged Unionists during the dark and cheerless days of 1861 and 1862. A neighbor whom she highly respected and in whom she had great confidence, but who from time to time took a rather gloomy view for the Union cause, was Harry Nixdorf, a very pious Lutheran and also a very patriotic Unionist. Mr. Nixdorf never tired of relating his interesting experiences with her and how she frequently came to his shop and explained: "Never mind, Harry, we *must conquer*, we *must conquer*." "We have seen darker times than these, Harry."

During the winter of 1861 and '62 she purchased a small silk Union flag, about 22 by 16 inches; this she had flying from her attic window, every day, unless the weather was very inclement.

It was early in September, 1862, that the Confederate forces crossed the Potomac at White Ford, entered Maryland and marched through Frederick county to the county seat, Frederick. They encamped mostly on the northwest side of the town, on Carroll creek, around Worman's mill, an old stone structure built in 1787, which is in use at the present time and on the north and northeast. An eye witness of their army at the time said: "The rebels were wretchedly clad, and generally destitute of shoes. The cavalrymen were mostly barefooted and the feet of the infantry were bound up in rags and raw hides. Their uniforms were in tatters, and many were without hats or caps. They had very few tents; the men mostly, where encamped, slept on the bare ground." General Stonewall Jackson, one of the Confederate generals in command, was a religious man, and the next day being Sunday, attended divine services at the Evangelical Reformed Church, of which Rev. Daniel Zacharias was pastor and of which Barbara Frietchie was also a member. It is said that Rev. Zacharias was not aware of the presence of General Jackson and among other hymns sung during the service was the hymn, "The Stoutest Rebel must Resign."

The correspondent of the Baltimore American in writing of this entrance and occupation of Frederick by the Confederates said: "A meeting of the citizens was called, at which an address was delivered by Bradley Johnson, who used the most conciliatory language, and made great predictions as to the power of the rebel army not only to hold Western Maryland, but to capture Baltimore and Washington, and dictate terms of peace in Independence Square at Philadelphia. The rebel sympathizers generally attended the meeting, but the few Union men who had remained kept to their homes. At 10 o'clock at night the men were all ordered to their camps on the outskirts of the city, and the first day of rebel rule in Frederick passed off quietly and peacefully.

"The Federal flag was lowered from all the poles in Frederick, and the rebel 'stars and bars' hoisted in their place. Most of the officers were quartered at the hotels, and at the houses of prominent rebels, though a good many of the latter had also fled the city."

After Frederick had been under Confederate rule for about five days, on September 9, the order came from General Lee for them to move early next morning. General Hill's troops were to take the lead. These began the march and came down through Mill Alley to West Patrick Street and moved toward Harper's Ferry, which they had been ordered to capture; at this same time

the force under Jackson, Jones and Longstreet came down North Market Street to the Square and there turned to the right and moved out West Patrick Street. The corps of the army commanded by Jackson got to the point where Mill Alley opens into West Patrick Street, before all of Hill's corps had gotten out of Mill Alley, and consequently was ordered to halt. Jackson's men then and there halted, but did not break ranks, but stood there fully ten minutes until Hill's troops got out of the alley. This is a very narrow alley only fourteen feet wide. The mouth of the alley is about seventy yards from where stood the house in which Barbara Frietchie lived.

Before any of Stonewall Jackson's troops reached the Frietchie home, Jackson who had been riding ahead, left his line at West Second Street and rode up to the Presbyterian parsonage, where Rev. Dr. Ross resided, a two-story brick house which is still standing, and slipped a note addressed to them under the door. The following is a copy of the note:

"Regret not being permitted to see Dr. and Mrs. Ross, but could not expect to have that pleasure at so unseasonable an hour.

"Sept. 10, 1862, 5.15 A. M.

"T. J. JACKSON."

In a minute or two after Jackson's men halted, all of a sudden great excitement burst forth near the end of the line, many of the Confederates becoming very angry. The report at once was passed along the line that an old lady was shaking a Yankee flag right into their faces. Order was soon restored however when the order came for them to march.

The old lady was Barbara Frietchie. The incident related to me by Mrs. John H. Abbott, her great niece, but a short time ago, is almost identically as she and a number of other intimate acquaintances of Barbara Fritchies gave it to me in July, 1886, nearly thirty-three years ago, and as Barbara herself related it to the niece of her husband, Caroline Ebert, more than fifty-six years ago.

It was very generally known that the Confederate army was to leave the town during the night or early the next morning. Excitement ran high and many persons were not in bed during the night. Soon after five o'clock in the morning, several persons rushed into Barbara's door and called her to get her flag, the soldiers are coming. Among those calling her was very probably her little niece, Hallie Hanshew, and her next-door neighbor, Mrs. Lizzie Miller, who was an intensely loyal woman. The old lady got her flag and began waving it. A confederate soldier soon stepped up and said: "Old lady go in with your flag." "I won't do any such thing," she said, "I'll make you ashamed of yourself," and she kept on waving the Union colors. An officer then rode up and said something to the men and she thought they were going to fire on her, but they didn't and he rode away but soon returned with another officer. This officer said, "Granny give me your flag, and I'll stick it in my horse's head." "No, you can't have it," she said and then there was a great commotion among the soldiers, and one of them called out: "Shoot her damned head off!" The officer turned to him angrily and said: "If you hurt a hair of her head, I'll shoot you like a dog!" Then he turned and said to Barbara: "Go on, Granny, wave your flag as much as you please." That

officer there are the very best of reasons for believing was Stonewall Jackson.

By this time Jackson could again join his men. He did not likely detain more than a minute at the parsonage where he slipped the note under the door. He had only two and a half short blocks to go from there to the corner of Mill Alley and West Patrick Street, a stone's throw from the Fritchie home.

I have seen it stated somewhere in referring to this incident, that the Confederates under Stonewall Jackson, marched down the "Betztown road." That is not the fact. There is no "Betztown road." In the early days of Frederick there was a group of small houses in the western end of the town which was called Betztown. There is a South Betz Street about a hundred yards west of Carroll creek, but it is a mere alley, being only fourteen feet wide. The Confederate army did not march down this narrow street; they marched out over West Patrick Street.

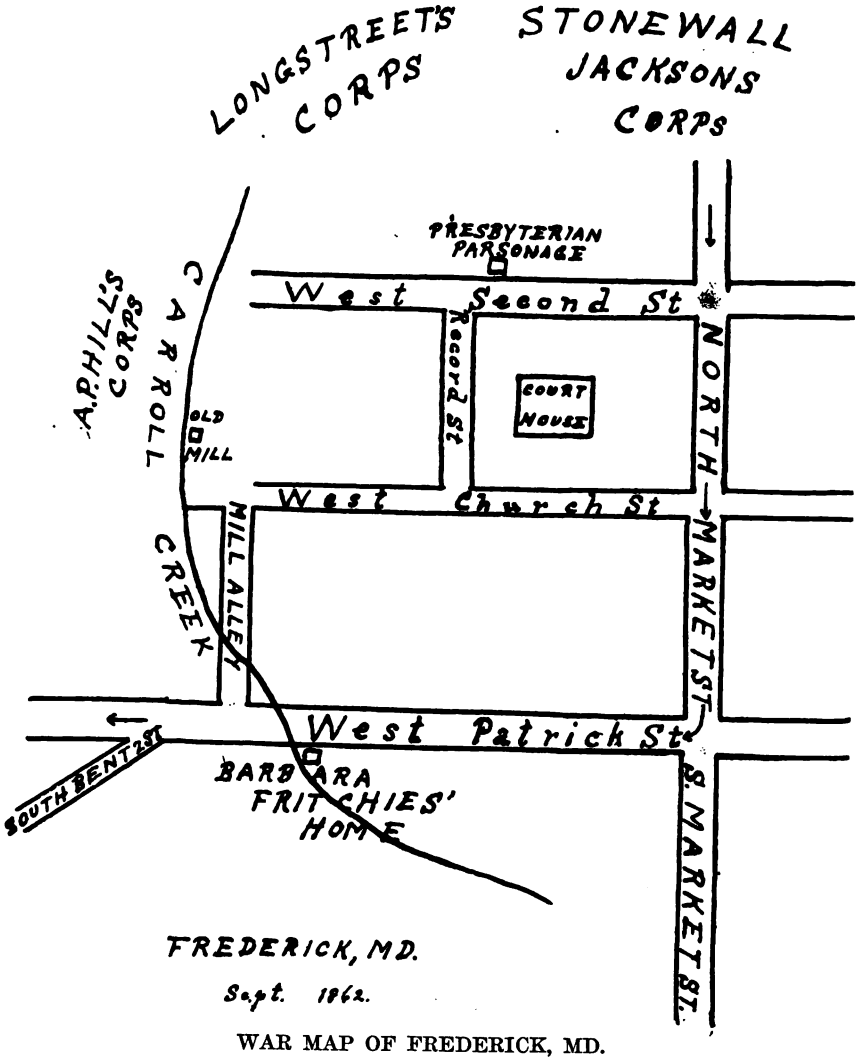
[I have here a map of the part of the town through which the Confederate army marched, showing the route Stonewall Jackson took from the point when he left his men to the point where he again joined them.]

What makes it all the more probable that the officer at the head of Jackson's men, undoubtedly one of his staff, should report this occurrence at once to Jackson was the fact that he was very anxious not to irritate the residents in any way and to avoid any kind of a disturbance; he had given the most drastic orders to that effect. In fact he had special instructions from General Lee not to tolerate any kind of disorder or disturbances. The invasion of Maryland at this time was for the express purpose of getting recruits. They knew they had many sympathizers in Western Maryland, and especially in Frederick County, and they hoped for many additions to their ranks.

Many contradictory reports had been started and repeated about the Frietchie incident without being corrected for the reason that these families and many other families in Frederick were divided in sentiment on the question of human slavery and on the issues growing out of the war. In many cases the feeling was very bitter among members of the same family.

The first time I was in Frederick there were persons there who told the inquiring stranger that no such person as Barbara Frietchie ever lived there. And when the house was damaged by a flood, the disloyal element, who fairly hated the brave old patriot, managed to have her house removed on the pretense of widening Carroll creek, so they could truthfully tell inquiring visitors: "No such person lives in the town, and there is no house in the town in which any one by that name ever lived."

I got much of my information in 1886 in strict confidence. Some of Barbara Frietchie's friends and relatives declined to make statements for publication because they wanted to avoid stirring up partisan and sectional feeling. At that time there was quite a large element in the town whose sympathies were very strongly with the followers of the Southern Confederacy. It is surprising the number of homes in this old town, even at this late day, in which you will find the pictures of Robert E. Lee, "Stonewall" Jackson and other Confederate leaders, on the walls of their sitting rooms and parlors.



WAR MAP OF FREDERICK, MD.

I have heard that Whittier himself doubted the story from what he had learned after the poem was written, and that he told some of his friends that it was the only thing he "had ever written for the truth of which he could not vouch." There was surely no occasion for regrets on his part. The poem was founded upon fact, notwithstanding a few incorrect statements.

It is a fact that all her life she was an intensely loyal woman. She had the courage of her convictions and was very outspoken in behalf of a cause in which she believed, as she did in the cause of the Union during the Civil War. And upon this occasion, on the memorable 10th of September, 1862, when the Confederates withdrew from the town of Frederick, the part of their army commanded by Stonewall Jackson marched over the street on which Barbara Frietchie lived, and as they did so, that brave and loyal old patriot, soon after five o'clock in the morning, in her ninety-sixth year, stood at her door waving the Union flag in the face of the Confederate soldiers as they marched by, not knowing what moment she would be fired upon.

The only part of the poem that can be questioned are the words:

"'Fire!'—out blazed the rifle blast.
It shivered the window pane and sash;
It rent the banner with seam and gash.
Quick as it fell from the broken staff
Dame Barbara snatched the silken scarf."

It was but natural that this patriotic demonstration should raise the ire of many in the ranks of the foe, but not a gun was raised and nothing was done to molest her. The probabilities are however that this is what would have happened, but for the drastic order of General Jackson. "His nobler nature within him stirred to life at that woman's deed and word," together with the positive instructions from General Lee not to tolerate any kind of disturbance doubtless saved Barbara Frietchie from being fired upon and in all probability saved her life.

The words: "She leaned far out on the window sill" are not correct. She stood in her doorway or immediately in front of her door waving the flag.

Three months after this historic incident—on the 18th of December 1862—Barbara Frietchie breathed her last at the age of ninety-six years and fifteen days. She was buried by the side of her husband in the family lot in the old Reformed Cemetery.

The Frederick Weekly Examiner, of December 27, 1862, in giving an account of her funeral said:

"Barbara removed to this city when a child. She remembered the signing of the Declaration of Independence and the scenes of the Revolutionary War; she was familiar with the career of Washington and shared the popular joy on the announcement of peace.

"In the quiet of domestic life she literally grew up with the nation's growth, and participated in its passing history; in middle age she witnessed the War of 1812; and when the sands of life ran low, she justly regarded the Rebellion, which now hangs like a cloud over the hopes of freemen, as the saddest experience of her protracted life.

"To one thus strongly identified with the origin and growth of the

Republic, loyalty necessarily became a deep-seated sentiment; and when the rebels were expelled from this city, on the memorable 10th of September, this venerable lady, as a last act of devotion, stood at her front door, and waved the glorious star-spangled banner in token of welcome to our deliverers. On Sunday last her mortal remains were interred in the cemetery of the Evangelical Reformed Church of which she was a consistent and exemplary member for more than forty years."

Mrs. Hanshew, who was a niece of Barbara's husband, John Caspar Frietchie, had lived with her and nursed her until she died. To her Mrs. Frietchie left all her personal property, except the old family Bible; that she gave to Mrs. Mergardt.

When I visited Frederick in 1886, I found her grave and that of her husband marked by two marble stones bearing the following inscriptions:

JOHN C. FRIETCHIE Died Nov. 10, 1849 Aged 69 years.	BARBARA FRIETCHIE Died Dec. 18, 1862 Aged 96 years.

A small flag was waving over her grave. Patriotic citizens made a special effort to keep this Star-Spangled Banner flying over her resting place, but it was hard to do this, owing to the fact that it was repeatedly carried away by souvenir hunters.



In 1912 the Mount Olivet Cemetery Company of Frederick got permission of the nearest relatives to remove the remains of Barbara Frietchie and her husband to Mount Olivet. Soon thereafter a number of patriotic women of Frederick decided to organize to raise funds for the erection of a memorial to Mrs. Frietchie. On May 28, 1912, the Barbara Frietchie Memorial Association was organized, and aid was solicited for this fund.

The bodies were finally removed in the spring of 1913, and on Memorial Day, May 30th, of that year, with appropriate ceremonies, Barbara Frietchie was placed in her last resting place, which is a stone vault on a triangular lot in the upper end of Mount Olivet Cemetery. Over the vault a large mound is built on which is erected a beautiful monument, on which is inscribed Whittier's famous poem. The monument was designed by Alexander Doyle, the designer of the beautiful Francis Scott Key monument, which stands at the entrance to Mount Olivet.

The services on this memorial day were presided over by Judge Hammond Usner, and the religious services were conducted by Rev. Henri L. Kieffer, pastor of the Evangelical Reformed Church. The pall bearers were the members of the Consistory of the Reformed Church of which Mr. and Mrs. Frietchie were members. The veterans of Reynolds Post, G. A. R., formed the guard of honor. In the procession were the Patriotic Order of Sons of America, the Daughters of the Revolution, the Barbara Fritchie Memorial Association, the Junior Order of American Mechanics, the Francis Scott Key Council, No. 88, Boy Scouts and other organizations.

It seems to be specially appropriate that the bodies of Barbara Frietchie and that of Francis Scott Key, author of "The Star-Spangled Banner," should rest in the same cemetery.

I am especially indebted to Mrs. John H. Abbott for much information about the life of this grand old woman, also to Mr. John D. Byerly, Mr. J. H. Markins, Mr. Jonathan Bielfeld, Miss Eleanor D. Abbott, Mrs. Hanshew, Mrs. Elizabeth Ziegler, Mrs. Winebrenner and others, for whose kindness I am under many obligations for their assistance in this humble effort to honor the memory of this Lancaster girl in history—Barbara Frietchie.

Minutes of the May Meeting.

The Lancaster County Historical Society held their monthly meeting on Friday evening, May 5, 1919, in the A. Herr Smith Memorial Library Building. President Charles I. Landis reported that, owing to changes about to be made by the P. R. R. Co. at Leaman Place to the property upon which the boulder and tablet commemorating the Feree settlement of Huguenots is to be placed, the erection and unveiling of this marker will have to be deferred.

Paul R. Garrison, of Columbia, and Mrs. Laura V. Coyner, of Waynesboro, Va., were elected to membership in the society.

The paper of the evening was read by Hon. John H. Landis, of Millersville, his subject being Barbara Frietchie, A Native of Lancaster. After reading the stirring lines of the memorable poem to the patriotic woman, the writer of the paper proved the authenticity of the facts. He also showed that Barbara Fritchie was born in Lancaster, baptized in the First Reformed Church and when a young girl removed with her parents to Maryland, where at Frederick the incident occurred which has made her famous. The paper was very interesting and well received.

The Society went upon record as favoring the Legislature voting the Counties of the State to increase their apportionment to local historical societies.

The report of Librarian Harry Stehman, Jr., called attention to the fact that the national service flag of the Historical Society has been placed in prominent position above the mantel in the Society's regular meeting room, and the charter of the Society placed in the front part of the room.

He also reported that the following donations were received during the past month in the form of books and pamphlets:

The Northwest Company, and A Catalogue of Materials in the Archivo General De Indias, both from the University of California.

Iowa Authors and Their Works, from the Historical Department of Iowa.

Annual Report of the Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company.

March number of "Carry On," Americanization, World Shipping Data, and Plan for the Operation of the New American Merchant Marine, four pamphlets from the National Government Departments.

The exchanges received were:

April number of Linden Hall Echo.

April number of Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine.





PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FRIDAY, JUNE 6, 1919

"History herself, as seen in her own workshop."

THE BEGINNINGS OF ARTIFICIAL ROADS IN PENNSYLVANIA,

By Hon. Charles I. Landis.

MINUTES OF THE JUNE MEETING.

VOL. XXIII. NO. 6.

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The Beginnings of Artificial Roads in Pennsylvania, - - - 99
By Hon. Charles I. Landis.
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The Beginnings of Artificial Roads in Pennsylvania.

Some time ago I came across an article published in the Pennsylvania Gazette of February 20, 1772, signed "Clericus." It indicated that the first move looking towards the building of a turnpike from Philadelphia to Lancaster had originated among the people of Lancaster County. Further investigation proved that the writer, "Clericus," was no other than the Rev. Thomas Barton, then Rector of St. James Episcopal Church, of Lancaster Borough. A letter, written by him to Thomas Penn, Jr., which appears among the files of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, fully identifies him as the author. I have, therefore, made copies of both the "Observations" and the letter, as being the earliest reference to this subject.

The article reads as follows:

February 20, 1772. Number 2252.

THE PENNSYLVANIA GAZETTE.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE IMPROVEMENT OF PUBLIC ROADS OCCASIONED BY A PETITION TO ASSEMBLY FOR A TURNPIKE-ROAD FROM PHILADELPHIA TO WRIGHTS-FERRY ON SUSQUEHANNA, HUMBLY ADDRESSED TO THE TRUE FRIENDS OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Having long observed, with real concern, that our Inattention to the Improvement of Public Roads and other Inland Communications, between the Western Parts of this Province and the Capitol, hath been the means of diverting the natural products of these parts to another Market, we cannot but be pleased to find, that this Matter is at last become a Subject of some consideration. A Petition to the Honorable House of Assembly has been promoted in the County of Lancaster, setting forth such Grievances as have been the consequences of bad roads, and praying for some redress in the premises. Every person seems to have a just sense of the importance of this Petition, and to be desirous of partaking of the benefits it craves. But very few have any idea how, or by what means, those benefits are to be obtained. Turnpike Roads are novel things in this Country. There are many among us, who do not even understand the Terms. And such as have thought a little of the Matter seem to think that the Chinese Wall or the Pyramids of Egypt were not more arduous and extravagant Undertakings than that of a Turnpike from Philadelphia to Wrights-Ferry would be. To remove such prejudices and to convince such people, that this Undertaking would neither be so difficult or expensive as they conceive, we beg leave to lay before them some Extracts from a very judicious writer (the Rev. Mr. Horner, one of the Commissioners of Turnpike Roads in England), who has made a full "Enquiry into

the means and expence of improving and preserving Public Roads," together with such observations, as the remarks of a few sensible neighbors, and my own little Experience together, have enabled me to collect concerning the Road now proposed. And that this may be done in such a manner as may be most generally and fully understood, we will consider the subject under the following Heads:

1. The great Benefits of public improved Roads.

2. The methods of making such Roads, what materials are necessary and how they are to be applied.

3. An Estimate of the Expense of a Turnpike from Philadelphia to Wrights-Ferry and some general Reflections upon the whole.

First, then, as to the great Benefits of public improved Roads, the writer before me gives a circumstantial as well as pleasing account. "The Preservation and Improvement of Public Roads," says he, "have always been objects of the internal Police of almost all civilized States: And perhaps it would be no Exaggeration to assert, that Schemes of this kind have more or less been attended to, in Proportion to the degree of public Spirit, which has prevailed in every Age and Country. Besides the Benefits which result from public improved Roads, of Comfort to ourselves, and of convenient passage to our Beasts and Carriages, they have a natural Tendency to keep up social Intercourse, to Expedite Business, and to enlarge the Commerce of mankind. By them Access is gained, not only to the necessaries and conveniences, but to the Elegancies and Refinements of Life; particular Places become possessed of the Products and Riches of remote Places. It is probable that there is no circumstance, which will contribute to characterize the present age to Posterity so much as the Improvements that have been made in Public Roads. We need not carry our Enquiries into the State of England more than Half a Century backward, before we shall be able to trace the dull Marches of our Ancestors through Mire and Clay, not only in their visits to each other through the Cross Roads of the Country, but in those of the most Public Resort and even in their Approaches to the very capital. Journies in Carriages from the remote parts of England to London were considered as great Undertakings, and performed by short Stages in each day. Terror and Fatigue were the constant concomitants of these slow and dangerous Progressions, and the Fears and Anxieties of Friends, who were left behind in the country, were never calmed, till they had certain Intelligence that the Travellers were safe arrived at their Journey's End.

"The Trade of the Kingdom languished under these Impediments. Few People cared to encounter the Difficulties which attended the Conveyance of Goods from the Places where they were manufactured, to the Markets where they were to be disposed of. The same Cause which was injurious to Trade, laid waste also a considerable part of the Lands. The natural Products of the Country were with Difficulty circulated to supply the necessities of those Counties and trading Towns, which wanted, and to dispose of the Superfluity of others, which abounded. Hence the Consumption of the Growth of Grain, as well as of the inexhaustible Stores of Fuel, which Nature has lavished upon Particular parts, was limited to the neighborhood of those places, which pro-

duced them, and made them, comparatively speaking, of little value to what they would have been had the Participation of them been more enlarged.

"To the Operation of the same cause must also be attributed in a great Measure the slow Progress which was formerly made in the Improvement of Agriculture. Discouraged by the uncertain Returns, which arose from confined Markets, the Farmer wanted Spirit and Ability to exert himself in the Cultivation of his Lands. On this Account, Undertakings in Husbandry were then generally small, calculated rather to be a Means of Subsistence to particular Families, than a Source of Wealth to the Public. But since the Improvement of Public Roads, Trade is no longer fettered by the Embarrassments which before unavoidably attended it. Dispatch, which is the very Life and Soul of Business, becomes daily more attainable by the free Circulation opening in every Channel, which is adapted to it. Merchandize and manufactures find a ready Conveyance to the Markets. The Natural Blessings of the Land are shared by the Inhabitants with a more equal hand. The Constitution itself acquires firmness by the Stability and Increase both of Trade and Wealth, which are the Nerves and Sinews of it.

"In Consequence of all this, the Demand for the Produce of the Lands is increased. The Lands themselves advance proportionately in their value. There never was a more astonishing Revolution accomplished in the internal System of any Country, than has been within the Compass of a few years in that of England. The Carriage of Grain, Merchandize, &c., is in general conducted with little more than half the number of Horses with which it formerly was. Journies of Business are performed with more than double Expedition. Improvements in Agriculture keep pace with those of Trade. Everything wears the Face of Dispatch; every Article of our Produce becomes more valuable. And the Hinge upon which all these movements turn, is the Improvement that has been made in our Public Roads."

Let us apply these Observations to our own Case, and we shall find that the same Advantages must result to us from the Improvement of our Roads and other Communications between the Back Country and the Metropolis. The Petition to the Assembly sets forth "that the Inhabitants of the Western Counties labour under the greatest Difficulties in transporting the Produce of the Country to the City of Philadelphia, the grand mart of the Province, owing to the extreme badness of the Roads, which are sometimes almost impassable and at all times dangerous and attended with great Delays and Losses. That a great part of this Produce is already lost to the City of Philadelphia, &c. That a Turnpike Road would soon restore the valuable and increasing trade of York and Cumberland Counties, secure the Trade of Lancaster County, and be an easy mode of transporting the Products, not only of these Counties, but of the newly settled Country, to the Metropolis of our. own Province." These advantages alone are such as deserve the utmost Efforts of our Power to secure, and not only these, but many more might be obtained, from a proper Improvement of our Public Roads and other Communications. We will now examine

2. The Method of Making such Roads (as practiced in England), what materials are necessary, and how they are applied. "The first Object should be to reduce Roads into proper form. And for this purpose, it is always

desirable to bring them, as nearly as circumstances will admit, to straight Lines, in which Form they wear better, and are more commodious for Use. Risings and Hollows should be first reduced, as much as they can be, into level or inclined Planes. Steep Ascents are always, if possible, to be conquered, because the Locking of Carriage Wheels in the Descent, and the Difficulty of Draught in the Ascent, render them troublesome and expensive. Undertakings of this kind are generally arduous, but yet they may be accomplished in almost any instance by sinking the Paths at the Summits, and raising them at the Bases, by which Means their progressive Line is brought to an easy Inclination. This should never exceed an angle of 4 or 5 degrees with the Horizon, if the Expence of doing it be not too great.

The traverse Section of a Road (Except in Wash-ways where the Water is to be confined to the Track) should always be the Segment of a Circle, in order to give a lateral Descent; and this may be either the Portion of a greater or less Circle, as there is more or less of the progressive Inclination, and the Nature of the Soil may require it, or otherwise it may be the Portion of a larger Circle with Ditches on Each Side.

The Reasons which render these dispositions in the Form of Roads necessary, are founded chiefly in the effects of Water upon them; a stagnation of which is always prejudicial, and particularly so in loamy or clay lands, in which, if it cannot be discharged, the best compacted Materials, unless of extraordinary Thickness, must gradually sink under the Pressure of heavy weights upon them.

In Roads of any considerable Resort, it is usual to bring the whole Breadth into Form, where it does not exceed 40 feet, and to Form to the Breadth of 40 feet, where it does; which, according to the methods generally practiced, leaves a convenient passage on each side of the mended Path, supposed to be in the middle or centre of the Forming. The breadth of the mended Path must be regulated by the circumstances of the Commissioners, the Plenty of Materials, and the convenience of getting them. This is seldom extended beyond 14 feet, and oftener only 12 in Roads which are distant from the Metropolis. For five months, at least, of the 12, upon an Average, the Side Passages, of such as be in good form, will be sufficiently drained or frozen to bear Carriages, and at those Seasons the use of them, when worn smooth, is by far more eligible than the mended Path, the only purpose of which is to go against any hurtful Impressions at such times as the natural ground, rendered pliable by moisture, gives way to the force exerted on it.

There are two ways of adapting Materials to the Improvement of Roads; one by regular Pavements; the other by a more promiscuous assortment of Rock Stones, Pebbles, Flints, Gravel, Sand, or the like.

Regular Pavements are generally constructed with common Pebble. But was this kind of Road eligible, Pebbles are not to be procured in sufficient quantities and of proper size in many parts, without too great an expence. Besides this, there are many Objections to them, being neither calculated for the Ease of Man or Beast, nor for the Preservation of Carriages. Indeed it may hold for a general rule in making of Roads, that the finer the Materials are which are used for the Construction of them, the more convenient they are for Passage, if no other objections attend them; accordingly we find by

experience that those which are made of the best kinds of Gravel are preferable, for Ease, Safety and Expedition, to those which are of coarser though more solid Materials. Nay, the natural ground itself, when rendered sufficiently smooth, and hardened by Drought, is better adapted for Use in all respects, than any made Road whatsoever.

It seldom happens that the Surveyors have any great choice of Materials to use in Constructing their Roads. They are obliged to take such as the neighborhood affords, for distant Carriage is for the most part an unsupportable burden. In those which are made of Gravel only, the Chief Requisite is to lay it of sufficient thickness, and whatever the Materials are, the ground should be well formed to the sides of them, to prevent them giving away laterally, which will of course lessen their perpendicular depth, as well as weaken their Structure. Where Rock Stones are wholly used for this purpose, it is usual to place the stronger parts with a cursory kind of pitching on the Outside of the Beds where the weight of the Carriages is expected to operate most, and to leave the weaker in the center, supposed to be the Track for Horses, and to give the whole a covering with the shattery parts of the Rock, or the Stronger, broke into small pieces, without which they are apt to be rough, and inconvenient for traveling upon. But whenever both kinds are to be had, Durableness and Convenience are best consulted by making the Foundation of Stone and the Superstructure with Gravel. In clays or soils which retain moisture, it has a very good effect to lay a course of Sand or Gravel, where it can be procured, or, otherwise, of the soft parts of sandy stone, before the stratum of strong stones is placed, which prevents them working downwards as fast as they are otherwise apt to do, and yet enables them for a while to yield to the Pressure of heavy weights.

Many good roads are made with Sand only, in the same manner as Gravel, and they also have this convenience, that they are generally better in the Winter Season, when saddened with Moisture, than in the Summer, when their Texture being loosened with Drought, Carriages move heavily along them.

But whatever methods are made use of for the purpose of securing Roads from Decay, it generally turns out an irretrievable error to be too sparing in the Breadth of the mended path, and very bad economy not to allow a sufficient Thickness of Material in the first construction of it. For the latter, no general Rule can be laid down, because it must be regulated by the combined considerations of their strength, the Form of the Ground and the Nature of the Soil in which they are placed; but for the former, it ought never to be less than twelve feet in Public Roads.

Such are the Methods of improving Public Roads in England, such the Materials, and such the Manner of applying them. And it appears very probable that the same methods and the same kind of material may be adapted to our purpose.

In the next place, let us endeavor to make some estimate of the Expence of making our Turnpike. To do this, it will be necessary to take an exact view of every part of the Country through which it is to pass, and of the Kinds and Quantity of Materials which this Country affords. It is proposed that the Road be improved from Philadelphia to Wrights-Ferry, on Susque-

hanna, which, according to the present Track, is 76 miles, but on a straight line may not exceed 70. The Expence of improving such a Length of Road as this, to be sure, appears, at first sight, insupportable. But when we consider the Via Appia of the Romans, which Leipsius tells us was 350 miles long, 28 of which was carried through a dreadful swamp, and the whole road made of square Freestones, so well laid that, tho' 1800 years have elapsed since it was first made, it is, in many places, quite entire at this day,—when we consider the immense Canal, made at the Expence of a single subject of England, I mean the Duke of Bridgewater,—when we consider the long Canals, made in Ireland to open a communication between the Lakes in the north and the Bay of Newry,—we shall not surely distrust our ability to effect what is here proposed. I know it will be said that this is a new Country and not yet able to support such an Undertaking. We shall grant the Premises, but not the Conclusion. It is a new Country, to be sure, but not so new, nor, thank God, so poor, as not to be able to support such an Undertaking as is proposed. I have often heard the Expence of the Road computed at Random at £100,000. But we hope it will appear that less than half that sum will be sufficient to effect it. The Principles upon which the original Expence of making Roads in England (paved or gravelled 12 or 14 feet, as already described) are these: Two Tons of Materials are allowed to every Yard foreward, which will be 3520 Tons to a mile. Each Ton, upon an average, costs 1 s. and 10 d., all Expence included, when delivered into the Road, making in the whole for Materials £.322. 13. 4. a mile, and the Labour of farming, placing and banking, &c., is about 9 d. per yard, which will be £.66 more, amounting in the whole, for Materials and Labour, to £.388. 13. 4., Sterling, for every mile of finished Road.

But when we are speaking of Roads in Pennsylvania, I know it will be thought by some, that these Prices should, at least, be doubled, to make up the Difference between the Expence of Labour here and in England. The difference is undoubtedly very great, for which Reason the Price of the Labour shall be trebled, and instead of 9 d. per Yard, we will calculate 2 s. 3 d. per Yard. But with regard to the price of Materials, there should be no allowance, in the present Case, because the natural advantages attending the Conestogoe Road are so much greater than those that have perhaps attended the same Extent of Road in any Part of England, that they will reduce the Sterling Prices to Currency. That is, we shall have as much Materials for £.100 Currency here, as they can have for £.100 Sterling in England. In many parts of England, the necessary Materials are not to be obtained without considerable Difficulty and Expence. Stones, Gravel, &c., are often brought 5 and 6 miles to the Road. Whereas, the Country, through which the Road proposed here is to pass, is so plentifully and conveniently stored with those Articles, that near one-half of it may be made almost without any hauling, and the other half will not require much, as the greater part of it passes through Lime Stone Quarries, or a gravelly Soil. So that we may take it for granted, that the Materials will not exceed £.322. 13. 4. Currency a Mile. The Labour at 2 s. and 3 d. Yard (three Times the Price paid in England) will make £.198 more, which, added to the Materials, will be £.520.13.4. Currency for every Mile of finished Road. This sum multiplied by 70 (the supposed

Number of Miles from Philadelphia to Wrights-Ferry, on a straight Line) will make the whole Expence £.36,446. 13. 4.

It will appear evident that this Calculation makes a sufficient allowance, when it is considered that it is founded upon a Supposition that the Road is to be stoned or gravelled the whole way, in the manner that has been already mentioned. But it will by no means be necessary to do this. The Road from Pequea to the Ship, and through the Radnor Hills, will require no Improvements of this kind. Nothing more will be necessary there than to form the Road to its proper Breadth, to open courses on each side for the Torrents, occasioned by heavy rains, to pass along, without touching the Road, and to cut away the Trees for some little distance, so that the Sun and Wind may have their full power in Drying. Stoning will be necessary only in wet, low and spongy ground, which perhaps may not amount to 30 miles in the whole distance, and should Stone, gravel, &c., prove scarce in such Places, Wood may very advantageously be substituted in their Room. It is well known that Wood, buried in moist ground and preserved from the Air, will last for Ages. (Witness the Timber dug out of the Bogs of Ireland, and other Countries, supposed to have lain there since the Deluge, which is yet hard and sound.) Where other Materials, therefore, fail, we propose that Logs of Wood of 12 to 14 feet long (the Breadth of the mended Path) be laid close together, and buried at least 8 inches below the Surface and covered with the best Soil that the Place will admit of. Such a Road will last beyond the present Generation, and we trust the next will be able to repair it. Indeed, if the Road be well constructed in the Beginning, the whole of it may be easily kept in Repair. This will be done by appointing Men of Capacity and Integrity as Commissioners, with proper Powers and Rewards, to enable and encourage them to do their duty. The next step should be the Establishment of Broad-Wheeled Carriages for such as constantly use the Road or that follow Wagoning as an Employment, with an Indulgence for narrow wheels to such persons only as live at some distance from the Road, who only come upon it occasionally, and to whose Purposes of Farming, &c., Broad-Wheeled Carriages might be inconvenient, provided that for such Indulgence they have their Carriages made with one of the Axle Trees a few inches longer than the other, so that the fore and hind wheels of each side shall roll a surface of considerable Breadth. Some other Regulations no doubt will be found necessary, but these will be the chief, and, if carefully attended to, the annual repairs of the Road will be so inconsiderable, as perhaps not to exceed £.20 a Mile.

It will be expected, no doubt, that these Observations and Estimate should be accompanied with some mode or plan of raising a fund for the Purposes mentioned. This, however, is a matter which comes not properly within the Design such as loose Hints. The Wisdom and Prudence of the Legislature will readily point out ways and means to effect this. I would only observe that equitable Taxes are never to be accounted burthens, when they are to be immediately employed for attaining proportionate Benefits to the Public. The securing, facilitating and extending Commerce are, in the present Situation of human affairs, great Benefits to the Public.

Perhaps a due Regard to the several Circumstances mentioned here might conduce to bring about the End proposed. But, after what has been

said, if it should still be thought that the Country is too young to attempt what is called a Turnpike, it is to be hoped that it will not be thought too young to attempt something else to secure the great Benefits that have been enumerated. "While we are daily receiving accounts from all Parts of the World of the unwearied Assiduity with which foreign Princes and States are Promoting the commercial interests of their Dominiõns," and Countries which we cannot suppose that the vigilant and public spirit of Pennsylvania will now drop asleep and suffer a very valuable Part of her Staple Commodity to be wrested out of her Hands. The Products of 3 of the Western Counties are, perhaps, already of more value than those of all the other Counties put together. Those Products will greatly increase and become more valuable every day,—9,000 Bushels of Wheat, it is said, have been brought down this Fall from the settlements upon Juniata alone to Harris-Ferry. The New Purchase is crowding with Inhabitants, and will, in a very few years, be a well-settled, Plentiful country. Now, to keep this trade and Products of those Counties, and of that growing and flourishing Country, from being carried off to enrich the Inhabitants of another Province, and to turn them into their native and proper channel, it is absolutely necessary that proper Communications should be immediately opened between that Country and the Capital. A Turnpike Road has already been proposed as Part of a plan for doing this. If this Part should not be adopted, let us not lose Sight of the other Parts. Let an Inland Navigation be opened between Susquehanna and Schuylkill by means of the Waters of Swatara and Tulpohocken, which may be accomplished at a small Expence, according to the Information of a Gentleman who attended the Surveyor General and other Commissioners, who lately took a Level between the Heads of those Creeks, and observes, in a Letter to a Friend, that "Nature has pointed out the Design of joining those waters. The Ground is beautiful and level between; and the Heads of Quitiphililla are so nearly level with Tulpohocken, that there is but four inches Difference." The Advantages of this Communication must appear evident, at first sight, to any person who is acquainted with Pennsylvania, or that will take the Trouble to examine the Map of it. Let a Road be opened from Peach Bottom to Christian Creek. Let the Conestogoe Road, at least, be repaired at an expence of £.5000, and let the like sum be laid out in opening and cleaning the new Road, leading through the Borough of Strasburgh.

Two Roads will divide the Number of Travellers, and of course be less liable to Decay. They may also raise an Emulation in the Overseers and Tavern-keepers of both, which may be of Advantage to the Public. These are the grand Channels through which the very Health and Life of Philadelphia ought to flow, and if these are obstructed, she can never thrive.

Much more might be said upon this Subject. But for my own part, being sensible of my Inability to treat it as it deserves, I set out only with a Design to select some Extracts from Mr. Horner, and to offer a few scattered Hints of my own, in Hopes of exciting those who possess more Leisure and Experience to impart their Knowledge and Sentiment to the Public, by which means the best Informations and Schemes may be obtained, and the principal End, at last, accomplished. Whether any Thing proposed here may contribute to this important Purpose, I know not. But this I declare, that it has been

dictated by a Zeal for the welfare of this flourishing Province, and that my wishes are that Philadelphia may one day be "the Crowning City, whose Merchants shall be Princes, whose Traffickers shall be the Honourable of the Earth," and that "Every Source of Improvement of the Trade, Wealth and Prosperity of Pennsylvania, by whatever means accomplished, may, together with its Liberty, be immortal."

Clericus.

And the letter is in these words:

April 28, 1773.

Honoured Sir:

As the Pacquet, which I did myself the pleasure to direct to your Honour in December last, was obliged to be sent by way of New York, I take this Opportunity of forwarding Duplicates.

I expect soon to hear that your State of Health is mended. That Temperance for which your Honour has been remarkable has preserved to you a good Constitution, which I trust will not sink under your present Complaint. I pray God to continue you long to your Family & Friends.

Pennsylvania still preserves its Superiority over every other Part of America. Notwithstanding the vast number that have removed into Virginia, Carolina, Georgia, &c., this Province is full of People and increases in Inhabitants & Wealth every Day. Even the *Niew Purchase* is already almost settled. Lands have doubled their Price there within these twelve months. A Subscription is now on foot here for making Susquehanna navigable for large Boats, which will undoubtedly succeed; this little town having subscribed no less than £. 500. This Scheme will greatly promote the Prosperity of the Back Country in particular & the Reputation & Commerce of the Province in general.

I published last year in the Pennsylvania Gazette some Observations upon public Roads & Proposals for a kind of Turnpike from Wright's Ferry on Susquehanna to Philadelphia, which your Honour, no Doubt, has taken notice of, as you receive the paper. I had the pleasure to find that they were well received. The Amendment of our public Roads & Inland Navigation very much engage the Attention of the People here at present. Whenever they are able practically to pursue measures for these Purposes, Pennsylvania will literally become a happier Land than even that described in the 8th Chap. of Deuteronomy. I hear our late worthy Governor is soon expected here. The Residence of one of our Hon^{ble} Proprietaries in the Province will give a Spur to every public measure & facilitate every Proposal for its advantage. I beg, Hon Sir, to take the Liberty, thro you, of presenting him my most respectful Compliments. I received many marks of Favour from him, while he was here, for which I ought to & always shall be grateful.

With my best wishes for Lady Juliana & her tender charge,

I am, Hon Sir, with the most perfect affection & esteem,

Your Honour's ever obliged & Obedt Servant,

Thos. Barton.

Lancaster, April 28, 1773.

The Hon^{ble} Thomas Penn, Esquire,
Inn Spring Gardens,
London.

Minutes of the June Meeting.

LANCASTER, PA., Friday, June 6, 1919.

The monthly meeting of the Lancaster County Historical Society was held on Friday evening, June 6, at their rooms in the A. Herr Smith Memorial Library. Judge Charles I. Landis presided and read a paper on "The Beginnings of Artificial Roads in Pennsylvania," which was very informative and well received. John L. Summy served as secretary.

The report of Librarian Harry Stehman, Jr., showed that among the important donations received during the past month have been: 350 volumes of a miscellaneous character from Ex-Senator S. M. Mylin, of Pequea Valley; a German prayer book of the year 1739, from Charles E. Long, of Lancaster; two fine pictures of old Conestoga wagons, from Amos S. Gingrich, of Lancaster; a pamphlet, "The Pennsylvania Canals," from James McFarland, of Pittsburgh; and a history of the Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike by Hon. Charles I. Landis.

The following publications were also received during the past month as donations and exchanges:

Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1910–1911.
The Pennsylvania Magazine, April, 1919.
Records of the American Catholic Historical Society, March, 1919.
The Washington Historical Quarterly, April, 1919.
Wisconsin Magazine of History.
Schools in Textile Industry in the Southern States.
The Pennsylvania Canals, from James McFarland, of Pittsburgh.
American Temperance Union Almanac, 1843.
The Dollar Newspaper, copy of February 9, 1848 (Philadelphia).
Report of National Woman's Liberty Loan Committee, 1918.
The Carry On Magazine for April and May.

Routine and special business were considered. The report of Treasurer A. K. Hostetter showed the finances of the Society to be in good shape. Vice-President H. Frank Eshleman supplemented the paper by Judge Landis with some interesting remarks.

Judge Landis's paper consisted in the main of an article published in the Pennsylvania Gazette of February 20, 1772, and signed "Clericus," whom he showed was Rev. Thomas Barton, then rector of St. James Episcopal church in this city; also a letter written by him to Thomas Penn, Jr., of London. The article showed that the first move looking towards the building of a turnpike from Philadelphia to Lancaster originated among the people of Lancaster County.





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BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 5, 1919

"History herself, as seen in her own workshop."

THE LOYALISTS IN THE REVOLUTION,
By Frank R. Diffenderffer, Litt.D.

MINUTES OF THE SEPTEMBER MEETING.

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The Loyalists in the Revolution - - - - - - - - - - 113
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Minutes of the September Meeting - - - - - - - - - 126

The Loyalists in the Revolution.

First Paper.

By FRANK R. DIFFENDERFFER, Litt.D.

Introduction

We are so far removed from the days of the Revolution, and most of us know of it only through the medium of school or popular histories, that we have a very inadequate, and I may add an improper idea of the actual situation. The most favorable aspect of that struggle is always placed before us, while the darker features are generally kept in the background. It is only when we go back and examine original sources, read contemporaneous documents, make ourselves masters of what the principal actors in that great drama had to say of it as it moved slowly through the years, that we get a true insight into its disagreeable features.

I do not now allude to the opposing sentiment that existed among the people, that led them to espouse the different sides as their feelings dictated; but to the indifference and the half-hearted way in which only too many of the Whigs, as they were called, gave support to the cause of independence. We denounce the Loyalists without stint for their unpatriotic part in that great struggle; but there is also much to condemn among those who professed the greatest loyalty to the cause of the colonies. Their actions too often belied their professions. The greed of gain swayed the men of 1776 even as it sways the men of our own days. Avarice was as rampant then among private individuals and army contractors as it has been at any period since. Many of those who had merchandise in the camps held it at extortionate prices, compelling the commissioners of subsistence in many cases to sieze it by force. Soldiers were almost starved in the field that contractors might become rich. The traffic with the enemy was on an immense scale, and I regret to say men of all kinds engaged in it. British guineas were more attractive than depreciated Continental paper.

The habit grew as the struggle proceeded. Even men high in office were often not averse to engaging in this wretched business. The public securities were counterfeited. Appeals from the pulpit and press went unheeded. Men refused to pay their taxes and often their debts, when they could avoid it. Washington, in one of his letters to Joseph Reed, said: "It gives me very sincere pleasure to find the Assembly (of Pennsylvania) is so well disposed to second your endeavors in bringing those murderers of our cause, the monopolizers, forestallers and engrossers, to condign punishment." Again, he writes: "From what I have seen, heard and in part know, I should in one

word say, that idleness, dissipation and extravagance seem to have laid fast hold of most; the speculation, peculation and an insatiable thirst for riches seem to have got the better of every other consideration."

The country was not poor. Before the revolution, it imported tea of the value of two and a half million dollars annually, and many articles of luxury, and was well able to support the few thousands who served in the thinned ranks of the army; and yet we all know that provisions were never over-abundant, and how often our soldiers were absolutely suffering from hunger. All this time, the King's troops reveled in abundance supported by "patriotic farmers." "I am amazed," wrote Washington to Colonel Stewart, "at the report you make of the quantity of provisions that goes daily into Philadelphia from the County of Bucks." Philadelphia was at that time occupied by the British forces, while twenty miles away the patriot army lay shivering in the snows of Valley Forge, and almost at the verge of starvation.

I must allude to still another most discouraging feature of the struggle, the reluctance of the many to enter the ranks of the army and to remain there. As the war went on, it was found impossible to keep the ranks filled; in fact, they never were full. The professions and practice of most were not in accord. There was always a big army on paper, but never in actual service. "At the close of one campaign, there were not enough troops in camp to man the lines; at the opening of another, when the Commander-in-Chief was expected to take the field, scarce any state in the Union," as he himself said, "had an eighth part of its quota in the service." A resort to the payment of bounties became a necessity. In time, these bounties became excessive,—seven hundred and fifty dollars, and sometimes even one thousand dollars,—besides the bounty and emolument given by Congress. As much as one hundred and fifty dollars was paid in specie for a five-months service.

It is true we should make some allowance for many of these men. Most came from their farms and workshops from which they derived their means of subsistence. The claims of their families, too, had to be considered. The women and children could not carry on the home work satisfactorily. These causes must be added to the want of clothing and food and the natural hardships of the campaign. A competent authority tells us: "There were soldiers of the Revolution who deserted in parties of twenty and thirty at a time. A thousand men, the date of whose enlistment had been misplaced, perjured themselves in a body, as fast as they could be sworn, in order to quit the ranks which they had voluntarily entered. In smaller parties, hundreds of others demanded dismissal from camp under false pretexts, with lies on their lips. Some, also, added treason to desertion and joined the various corps of loyalists in the capacity of spies upon their former friends, or of guides and pioneers. Many more enlisted, deserted and re-enlisted under new recruiting officers, for the purpose of receiving double bounty; while others who placed their names upon the rolls were paid the money to which they were entitled, but refused to join the army. Another class sold their clothing, provisions and arms, to obtain means for reveling and to indulge their propensity for drunkenness; while some prowled about the country, to rob and kill the unoffending and defenseless."[1]

[1] Sabine's Loyalists, Vol. 1, pp. 146–147.

In innumerable cases, the officers were no better than the private soldiers. There were some who were as destitute of patriotism as of honor, who drew large amounts of money to pay their men, but who applied them to their own purposes. Some went to their homes on furloughs and failed to return, and "who, regardless of their word as men of honor, violated their paroles, and were threatened by Washington with exposure in every newspaper in the land, as men who had disgraced themselves and were heedless of their associates in captivity. At times, courts-martial were continually sitting; and so numerous were the convictions, that the names of those cashiered were sent to Congress in lists." "Many of the surgeons," said Washington, "are very great rascals, countenancing the men to sham complaints to exempt them from duty, and often receiving bribes to certify to indispositions, with a view to procure discharges or furloughs; and they drew medicines and stores in the most profuse and extravagant manner, for private purposes." In a letter to his brother, he declared the different states nominated officers who were "not fit to be shoe-blacks." In 1777, John Adams wrote: "I am wearied to death with the wrangles between military officers, high and low. They quarrel like cats and dogs. They worry one another like mastiffs, scrambling for rank and pay like apes for nuts." All this is unpleasant reading. I call it up to show what many do not know, and which still fewer may be willing to believe, that the bad men were not all on one side of that contest and that the Whigs were not all saints any more than the Tories were all sinners. Our struggle for independence had its lights and shadows,—nearly as many of the latter as of the former.

No Desire for Independence at First.

The people as a rule did not desire a change. The testimony on this point is strong. Soon after peace was declared, John Adams wrote: "There was not a moment during the Revolution, when I would not have given everything I possessed for a restoration of the state of things before the contest began, provided we could have had a sufficient security for its continuance." This seems a proper place to point out the difference between the two parties at the outbreak of the struggle. The Whigs were willing to remain as subjects of the King, if they were secured in their rights; while the Loyalists were willing to remain so, without asking for securities.

Franklin but a short time before the fatal affair at Lexington testified that he had "more than once traveled almost from one end of the continent to the other, and kept a variety of company, eating, drinking and conversing with them freely, and never had heard in any conversation from any person, drunk or sober, the least expression of a wish for a separation, or a hint that such a thing would be advantageous to America." Testimony to the same effect was borne by Mr. Jay, our first Chief Justice. He said: "During the course of my life, and until the second petition of Congress, in 1775, I never did hear an American of any class, or of any description, express a wish for the independence of the colonies." Mr. Jefferson is on record in these words: "What, eastward of New York, might have been the dispositions towards England before the commencement of hostilities, I know not; but before that, I

never heard a whisper of a disposition to separate from Great Britain; and, after that, its possibility was contemplated with affliction by all." Mr. Madison may also be quoted: "It has always been my impression that a re-establishment of the colonial relations to the parent country, as they were previous to the controversy, was the real object of every class of the people, till the despair of obtaining it," etc.

"The native-born Presbyterians were almost all staunch Whigs; but the Scotch traders and merchants, numerous in the southern colonies, adhered generally to the Tory side." "The Episcopal clergy throughout the colonies leaned, with very few exceptions, to the support of the crown; and in the middle and northern provinces, their flocks were chiefly of the same way of thinking."[2]

"A large number of the merchants in all the chief commercial towns of the colonies were openly hostile, or but coldly inclined to the common cause."[3]

"The barbarous and disgraceful practice of tarring and feathering, and carting Tories—placing them in a cart and carrying them about as a sort of spectacle—had become in some places a favorite amusement."[4]

Loyalists in British Army.

It is, of course, impossible at this late day to form a correct estimate of the number of loyalists who served under the standard of Great Britain in the field. The best that can be done is to make an approximate estimate, and this has been done by various competent hands after carefully sifting all the evidence. The loyalists themselves, in an address presented to the King in 1779, declared that the number of their countrymen then serving in the armies of his Majesty "exceeded in number the troops enlisted (by Congress) to oppose them."

Not only did many enlist as single individuals, but there were many organizations composed exclusively of Loyalists. The names of these various corps may be given. They were: "The King's Rangers; The Royal Fencible Americans; The Queen's Rangers; The New York Volunteers; The King's American Regiment; The Prince of Wales' American Volunteers; The Maryland Loyalists; De Lancy's Battalions; The Second American Regiment; The King's Rangers, Carolina; The South Carolina Royalists; The North Carolina Highland Regiment; The King's American Dragoons; The Loyal American Regiment; The American Legion; The New Jersey Volunteers; The British Legion; The Loyal Foresters; The Orange Rangers; The Pennsylvania Loyalists; The Guides and Pioneers; The North Carolina Volunteers; The Georgia Loyalists; The West Chester Volunteers; The Loyal New Englanders; The Associated Loyalists; and Wentworth's Volunteers." Several of the foregoing corps consisted of three battalions, which made a total of thirty-one separate organizations, all commanded either by colonels or lieutenant-colonels. It is on record that Col. Archibald Hamilton, of New York, at one period, commanded seventeen companies of loyal militia. The officers of twenty-one

[2] Hildreth, Vol. 3, p. 56.

[3] Hildreth, Vol. 3, p. 102.

[4] Hildreth, pp. 56, 102, 182.

corps were on the pay-roll of the British army as late as June 27, 1783, as on that day Lord North rose in the House of Commons and asked for £15,000 on account of half pay of the officers in command of these troops. The money was voted without debate.

Prominent Pennsylvania Loyalists.

Among the loyalists of our own state, William Allen, Chief Justice of the Commonwealth, was one of the most noted. He was very rich, noted for his love of literature, and was a patron of Benjamin West. He died in England in 1780. His son, William Allen, left the Continental service and in 1778 raised the corps known as the "Pennsylvania Loyalists." He was attainted of treason and his estate was confiscated. Another son, John, was an open loyalist from the beginning and joined General Howe at Trenton. He, too, was attainted of treason. The third son of Chief Justice Allen was James. He was the only one who did not join the British, but he was suspected of being loyal.

Matthias Apsden was a prosperous merchant of Philadelphia who was making a profit of £2,000 annually. He left the state in 1776. He was among those summoned to be tried for treason. Of course, he did not appear, and his house, warehouse and wharf, renting for £1,000, were given to the University of Pennsylvania. He received a pardon in 1786, and at his death his estate was worth $500,000.

Henry Hugh Ferguson, of Pennsylvania, was made a commissary of prisoners. His wife was the granddaughter of Sir William Keith, one of the Proprietary Governors. In 1778, he was attained and proscribed. His wife made an appeal for him. In it, she said: "As to my little estate, it is patrimonial, and left me in fee simple by my father," and she appealed that the Council should not allow the sale of it in consequence of her husband's right by marriage. It was confiscated all the same, although a part was subsequently restored to her.

The two Hamiltons, James and William, were, after the Allens and Joseph Galloway, the most noted Loyalists in this state. James was put in jail in 1777. He asked the Executive Council to allow him to remain in his own house, because of his age, a severe disease, and because his extensive affairs required his presence. In case of a removal elsewhere, he asked that his nephew, William, might be allowed to manage his affairs. In March, 1778, he was under restraint at Northampton, and asked to return to his family. The boon was granted. In April, he was allowed liberty to act as he pleased.

William Hamilton was once the proprietor of much of the land on which this City of Lancaster is built. Witham Marshe, in his journal, says he was here in 1744 with the commissioners of various colonies to form a treaty with the Six Nations, and the same diarist says of him that he "made a ball, and opened it, by dancing minuets with two of the ladies here, which last danced wilder time than any Indians." He raised a Whig regiment in the neighborhood of the Schuylkill, but resigned the command at the issuing of the Declaration of Independence. Isaac Ogden wrote to Joseph Galloway in 1778: "Billy Hamilton had a narrow escape; his trial for treason against the

states lasted twelve hours. I have seen a gentleman who attended his trial; he informed me that his acquittal was owing to a defect of proof of a paper from Lord Cornwallis, his direction being torn off." He was in jail in the fall of 1780, at which time he wrote to the President of the Council asking to be released. The Hamiltons were men of wealth and influence. William owned a fine country seat called the Woodlands.

Richard Hovenden joined the English army and was made a captain in the British Legion. He was for a time connected with the Queen's Rangers and operated in the vicinity of Philadelphia, managing to secure considerable clothing. His company was finally incorporated with Tarleton's famous Legion. He was attainted of treason and his estate was confiscated.

Christian Huch, a lawyer of Philadelphia, went to New York and united his fortunes with the King's forces. He was a captain of dragoons in Tarleton's Legion. Sabine says he was killed in an affray with a "party of rebels" he was about to disperse. At the moment of the attack in which he was slain, several women were on their knees before him imploring him to spare their families and property. He was exceedingly profane and had said God Almighty had turned rebel, but, if there were twenty Gods on their side, they would all be conquered. He was one of our worst Loyalists. He was attainted of treason and his estate confiscated.

Dr. John Kearsley was a zealous friend of the royal cause. He was arrested in the summer of 1775 at his own house and carted through the streets of Philadelphia to the tune of the "Rogue's March." During this violent proceeding, he received a bayonet wound. After he had been placed in the cart, the mob gave a wild huzza, at which the doctor, to show his contempt for "the people," took his wig in his injured hand, swung it around his head and huzzaed louder and longer than his persecutors, for the King. The mob was indignant, and then proposed to tar and feather him, but that part of the programme was omitted. Instead, they broke the doors of his house, and his windows with stones. He was attainted of treason and his property confiscated. This is the same Dr. Kearsley who was consigned to a committee of the citizens of this city, put into jail here, and later imprisoned at York. His treatment and sufferings resulted in his insanity, which continued until his death.

Robert Proud, the well-known historian of Pennsylvania, was strongly attached to the crown. He was firmly persuaded that the Revolution would prove "the cause and also the decline of national virtue in America." He took no active part in the struggle, however, and was not molested.

Thomas Wharton, the elder, was a Quaker merchant of great influence and wealth. Washington records that he dined at his house. In 1777, he was arrested and sent as a prisoner into Virginia. Subsequently, he was proscribed as an enemy to his country, and his estate was confiscated. His son, Thomas Wharton, Jr., was a Whig and Governor of Pennsylvania.

William Rankin was a Colonel in the Pennsylvania Militia. "Ten proclamations were issued for his apprehension." He was attainted and his estate confiscated.

No mention is made in this article of Colonel John Connelly, although

he was born and raised in our County of Lancaster, and proved to be one of the most subservient, intriguing and detestable of all the adherents of the crown in the State of Pennsylvania. A lengthy sketch of him appeared in volume 7 of the Proceedings of this Society.

Confiscation Not Thought of at First.

The confiscation and sale of the property of Loyalists was not resolved upon at the beginning of the struggle. It appears to have been a matter of gradual growth. As their strength and power to do harm became more manifest, with them came also the conviction that the most repressive measures were necessary. It was more a blow at individuals than at Loyalists as a party. Even at the beginning of proceedings against them no thought of taking their property was entertained. When they were disarmed their arms were marked and appraised so that their value might be restored to the owners at the close of the war. It was Britain that set the example of confiscation originally. In 1775 Parliament ordered all American ships and their cargoes seized on the high seas to be confiscated. When General Howe reached New York the confiscation of the property of Whigs was commenced in Manhattan, Staten and Long Islands. Loyalists were promised the property of their rebel neighbors when the war should be over. At first only personal property was seized, but later real estate also. These steps naturally led the several Colonies to retaliate, and they individually as well as Congress soon took up the plan which the mother country had already begun. At first the confiscations were of a mild order, but in the end every shred of property owned by a Loyalist that could be come at was seized and sold. Commissioners of sequestration and agents for the sale of confiscated estates were appointed in all the States, and these kept a sharp eye on all suspected parties and their estates, and made reports of what they had discovered. The amount of money paid into the Treasury of New York out of personal property alone between 1778 and 1783 was £260,595, or about $400,000 in gold or silver. By 1782 Loyalist lands had been confiscated and sold in New York amounting to $2,500,000 in hard money.[5]

New York kept on selling the estates of Loyalists long after peace was declared, and this continued actively until 1808 and at less frequent intervals for some years longer. Lecky, the historian asserts that "Two thirds of the property of New Yark was supposed to belong to the Tories."[6]

John Adams thought New York would have joined the British had not the example of New England deterred her.[7] Judge Thomas McKean believed that one third of all the Colonists were Loyalists.[8] Alexander Hamilton declared that not half the people were Whigs in 1775, and that one third still sympathized with the British in 1782.[9] Gouverneur Morris thought it was doubtful whether more than one half the people of New York "were even in really

[5] Lecky's History of England in Eighteenth Century, Vol. 3, p. 479.
[6] Flick's Loyalists in N. Y., p. 150.
[7] Works of John Adams, Vol. 10, pp. 63–110.
[8] Works of John Adams, Vol. 10, p. 87.
[9] Winson's North America, Vol. 7, pp. 185–187.

hearty and active sympathy with the patriots."[10] In 1782 it was reported that more were for the King than for Congress.[11] Sabine concludes that in New York the Whigs were far weaker than their opponents.

Of the three hundred and ten that were banished from Massachusetts, upwards of sixty were graduates of Harvard College, and of the five judges of the Supreme Court of that Colony at the commencement of the troubles, four were Loyalists.

The more pronounced Loyalists while residing in England were granted allowances from the British Government. I quote the following: "This day I went to the Treasury to inquire about my allowance, and to my comfort found it stood as at first. A few are raised, some struck off, more lessened. Of those that have come to my knowledge, Gov. Oliver's is lessened £110 out of £300. Mr. Williams, who has married a fortune here, is struck off; Harrison Gray, with a wife and two children struck off; his brother Lewis lessened to £50; D. Ingersoll reduced from £200 to £100. . . . Many names and sums totally forgotten. On the whole, it is said the sum paid last year to Refugees, amounting to near £80,000, is now shrunk by the late reform to £38,000."[12]

When the British forces evacuated Boston in March, 1776, 926 persons went to Halifax with the army.[13]

Even the loyalty of John Dickinson when he was elected President of the Executive Council 1782 was questioned.[14] On September 23, 1777, Washington, in a letter to Congress, dated at Pottsgrove (Pottstown), in speaking of the difficulty he had in getting information of the enemy's movements, said, the people of the neighborhood "being to a man disaffected."[15] A month later, October 27, 1777, in a letter to Landon Carle, from near Philadelphia, he speaks of "the disaffection of a greater part of the inhabitants of this State."[16]

Bancroft says that as late as October, 1775, "The Americas had not designed to establish an independent government; of their leading statesmen it was the desire of Samuel Adams alone; the rest had all been educated in the line and admiration of constitutional monarchy, and even John Adams and Thomas Jefferson so sincerely shrunk back from the attempt at creating another government in its stead, that, to the last moment, they were anxious to avert a separation if it could be avoided without a loss of their liberties.[17] One half the inhabitants of South Carolina were ready to take sides with the King.[18] Washington declared, "When I first took command of the army, I abhorred the idea of independence."[19] In the assembly of Pennsylvania in

[10] Roosevelt's Gov. Morris, p. 36.
[11] Canadian Arch., 1880, p. 925.
[12] Curwen's Journal, p. 404.
[13] Curwen's Journal, pp. 685–688.
[14] Rupp, p. 422.
[15] Itinerary of George Washington, p. 92.
[16] Itinerary of George Washington, p. 102.
[17] Bancroft, Vol. 8, p. 161.
[18] Bancroft, Vol. 8, p. 350.
[19] Bancroft, Vol. 8, p. 384.

June, 1776, only Clymer was in favor of independence. In 1777 the militia of Staten Island, 400 in number, swore allegiance to the King.[20]

The fight at Oriskany has been described as a battle between brothers, fathers, sons and neighbors. To political differences were added hatred, spite and a thirst for revenge. It is said that in that "fratricidal butchery" most of the male inhabitants of the Mohawk Valley perished.[21]

Flick in his admirable work on Loyalism in New York states that "judging from the inadequate records, it appears that there must have been at least 15,000 New York Loyalists in the British army and navy, and at least 8,500 Loyalist militia, making a total in that state of 23,500 troops. That was more than any other colony furnished, and perhaps as many as were raised by all the others combined. The Revolutionary troops in New York numbered only 17,781 regulars, and 41,633 including the militia. New York Loyalists fought in every battle on New York soil, and in most of the other battles of the war, and were repeatedly commended for their gallantry."[22] Under an act of attainder and felony passed by New York on October 22, 1779, fifty-nine persons were named whose property should be forfeited to the State. The list included two Governors, seven Councillors, two Supreme Court Justices, one attorney general, twenty-four esquires and two of their sons, one mayor of New York City, two knights, four gentlemen, nine merchants, one minister.

In South Carolina the following officers refused to sign the articles of association when requested by the general committee of the Revolution: Thos. K. Garm, Chief Justice; Edward Souage, Charles M. Costell, John Fewtrell and William Gregory, Associate Judges. Besides these the Secretary of the Province, the Attorney General, Deputy Postmaster General, Governor's Secretary, Deputy Auditor General, and others also refused. They were allowed to take their property and retire peacably. Some went to England and others to the West Indies.[23]

The illustrious John Jay said the Revolution was a subject upon which men might honestly differ.[24] Robert, Lord Fairfax, claimed from the British Government £90,000 for the value of his property confiscated. He was allowed £60,000.[25]

The Loyalists were continually ill treated by the English commanders. They were of great service to General Burgoyne in his campaign, but he spoke not a single word for them in his articles of capitulation. He even went so far as to blame them for his defeat, and after his surrender several thousands were compelled to flee to Canada.[26] The 300-acre farm given by the Act of the New York legislature to Thomas Paine, was confiscated as the property of one Frederick Devoe, a convicted traitor. Whig mobs went

[20] Bancroft, Vol. 8, p. 33.
[21] Jones' History of New York, Vol. 1, p. 217.
[22] Flick's Loyalism in New York, pp. 112–113.
[23] Curwen's Letters, p. 491.
[24] Curwen's Letters, p. 540.
[25] Curwen's Letters, p. 541.
[26] Jones' History of New York, Vol. 1, pp. 681–686.

through the streets of New York searching for Loyalists, and many were dragged from places where they had hidden to escape the undeserved vengeance of the ungovernable rabble. "These unhappy victims were put upon sharp rails, with one leg on each side; each rail was carried upon the shoulders of two tall men, with a man on each side to keep the poor wretch straight and fixed in his seat." Numbers were treated in this way; they were paraded through the streets and in front of the building in which the Provincial Convention was sitting, and before General Washington's own door, who so far approved of "this inhuman, barbarous proceeding that he gave a very severe reprimand to General Putnam, who accidentally meeting one of these processions on the street, and shocked by its barbarity, attempted to put a stop to it, Washington declaring that to discourage such proceeding was injuring the cause of liberty in which they were engaged, and that no one would attempt it but an enemy to his country."[27] That was not the only time that "The Father of his Country" showed his bitter enmity to Loyalism, although there was a time when he had no thought that affairs would ultimately result in a declaration of independence by the Colonies.

All persons known to be disaffected to the cause of America were ordered to be disarmed. The purpose of this was twofold, to make them harmless and provide arms for the Continental armies. Whole communities in New York where Loyalists were numerous were thus disarmed. A refusal to give up arms was followed by a fine. Influential Loyalists were generally remanded to neighboring colonies and put on parole of honor. If they refused this they were imprisoned. The arrival of General Howe at New York was the signal for the uprising of the Loyalist element in that state, where it had always been stronger than anywhere else. Half a dozen prominent Loyalists began recruiting and soon thousands had taken service under the standard of the King. Howe would not bombard the city of New York because of the large amount of Tory property in it, and Washington was urged to burn it "because two-thirds of the city and suburbs belongs to the Tories."[28] Captain John Dunsan wrote to the Provincial Congress from Duchess County, N. Y., that his whole militia company was Tory except the lieutenant and himself, and Col. Morris complained that out of his entire regiment not more than a colonel's command was true to the American cause.[29] Maj. Wertz writes to Prest. Whalebleat, that there are 19 tons of powder in Lancaster and a new powder house needed.[30] In October, 1776, New York advised the Pennsylvania Council of Safety about 33 persons for safety, mostly charged with treasonable practices.[31] On October 26, 1776, Lieut. Col. Wm. Baxter wrote to the Council of Safety as follows: Neshaminy, Bucks County: "No doubt you have heard of an election yesterday by the Tory party at Nicetown, this county, etc."[32] In July, 1783, fifty-five prominent Loyalists, most of whom had either served

[27] Jones' History of New York, Vol. 1, pp. 101–103.
[28] Flick's Loyalism in New York, pp. 107–108.
[29] Journal of Provincial Congress, Vol. 1, p. 654.
[30] Pennsylvania Archives, Vol. 5, p. 210.
[31] Av. 5–40.
[32] Pennsylvania Archives, Vol. 5, p. 54.

the British in civil or military capacities petitioned General Sir Guy Carleton for grants of land in Nova Scotia. They declared their standing in society prior to the Revolution had been good and that they had much influence, which had been exerted in the royal cause. They declared their intention of migrating to Nova Scotia, and asked that as much land might be given to each of them as were granted to freed officers, free from quit rents and other incumbrances. Their desire was ultimately granted.

As an example of a "dyed in the wool" Loyalist, the case of Cadwallader Colden of New York may be cited. When he was arrested in June, 1776, he was examined and committed to the Ulster County jail. The examining committee reported that he had said "he should ever oppose independency with all his might, and wished to the Lord that his name might be entered on record as opposed to that matter, and handed down to latest posterity."

In Pennsylvania, however, the success of the British in enlisting men into their service was not great. During Howe's occupancy of Philadelphia, "The Pennsylvania Loyalists," who had William Allen, Jr., as Colonel, and the "Queen's Rangers," commanded by Lieut. Col. Suncoe, were the most important military organizations.[33]

Rough Treatment of Loyalists.

There was an intense feeling against the Tories after the British evacuation of Philadelphia, and this culminated in the hanging of Abraham Carlisle and John Roberts for treason.[34] Dr. Adams of New York was hoisted to a tavern sign post along with a dead wild cat. General Oliver De Lancey was one of the most influential Loyalists in the State of New York. He commanded three battalions. Once when away from home his place was raided by the Whigs, who burned his house and barns and rudely treated the ladies of his household. His wife who was very deaf, hid herself in a dog kennel where she was nearly burned; her daughter and a companion wandered about the woods for hours in their night clothes. Rev. John Stuart, D.D., born at Harrisburg, Pa., was the last Episcopal Missionary to the Mohawk Indians, sent out by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. He was educated at the College of Philadelphia. He constantly refused to omit the prayers for the King in his church services. He remained unmolested until after the Declaration of Independence. His relations with the Six Nations and the Johnsons of New York rendered him an object of suspicion. His house was attacked, his property plundered, and every possible indignity offered to his person. His church was also raided, then turned into a tavern, and in ridicule and contempt a barrel of rum was placed on the reading desk. Afterwards the Church was turned into a stable and later into a fort. He was allowed to retire to Canada, where he prospered and his family became eminent.

The fact is there was doubt and confusion in the minds of thousands of men. Sometimes they were inclined to this side and then again to that. They were inclined for the most part to do what they thought best for the country, as well as for their individual interests.

[33] Pennsylvania Prin., 183.

[34] Pennsylvania Prin., 84.

Colonel Boyd of South Carolina, in command of a body of Tories, fell in a skirmish with a force under General Pickens. In that engagement neighbor fought against neighbor. In the exasperation of the moment, the Whigs doomed seventy of their prisoners to death, but relented at the last moment and killed only five. Thomas Braun of Georgia ridiculed the Whigs in a toast at dinner. He was threatened and fled, but was pursued, captured and brought back, tried and sentenced to be tarred and feathered; to be publicly exposed in a cart; to be hauled three miles or until he recanted and swore fealty to the Whig cause. As he refused to comply with these terms he was punished as had been decreed, and, in addition, denounced as "no gentleman." Later he became a Tory colonel and in that capacity defeated a party of patriots under Colonel Clark, taking a number of wounded and other prisoners. Thirteen of the wounded were hung in his presence. In 1780, he ordered five persons to be hung; when nearly dead they were cut down and turnd over to the Indians, who scalped and otherwise mutilated one of them. Later in a published defense of himself, he charged General Pickens with permitting the murder of Loyalist prisoners under his own eyes.

Who Were the Loyalists?

It may be asked who comprised the rank and file of the Loyalists. It is not too much to say that in almost every community, they were among the most wealthy and influential men. The governors of all the Colonies were Loyalists, as were also the Lieutenant-Governors; so were the councilors, many assemblymen, most of the judges, the military and naval officers, and most other officials, down to the magistrates. The large landed proprietors were also adherents to the crown, like the De Lancys, the De Puysters, and Van Cortlands. The professions were strongly represented in the Loyalist ranks. The physicians, teachers and ministers were also in this class. The wealthy commercial class in the cities also mainly adhered to the King's party; their interests were the first to be affected and naturally they went with the party they believed would win. They were prosperous, and they saw that war could only mean ruin to them. Lastly, the conservative masses almost everywhere regarded a severance of the old ties with the mother country as an evil for which there was no visible compensation. It deserves to be mentioned that while that side of the issue was largely dominated by the Anglican church, men of all other creeds were found in the Loyalist ranks, such as Lutherans, Methodists, Quakers, Presbyterians and Catholics. The majority of them were, of course, Englishmen; but many Germans, Irish, Dutch and French rallied under the banners of King George. Sir John Johnson's Royal Regiment, numbering 800 men, were mostly Lutherans and Presbyterians.[35]

The Churchly Element.

In Pennsylvania, the Sect people and the Quakers were in the majority. The former opposed wars on principle. The Quakers did likewise, and were very generally Loyalists. In New York and throughout the southern colonies,

[35] Flick's Loyalism during the American Revolution, p. 36.

the Church of England largely held sway. Wherever established, Anglicanism was on the side of the crown. Its clergymen were nurtured in sentiments of loyalty and valiantly upheld its prerogatives. Its prayers were regularly offered up for the King and his officers. At the time, it constituted the most influential element of the population. With scarcely an exception, the Anglican ministers were ardent Loyalists. The leading Loyalists almost everywhere who were active in a military or civil capacity were members of that church.

Pamphleteers.

In the beginning of these troubles, along in 1774, 1775 and 1776, pamphleteers on both sides were busily writing and publishing articles which were widely read and distributed. These form, perhaps, the most interesting literature of the times, and coming as they did from Whig and Loyalist alike, they afford a very excellent opportunity to gauge the sentiments and sincerity of the two parties. As the Whigs grew stronger and the resolutions of the Continental Congress against non-associators and Loyalists became more and more enforced, the Loyalist writers, either joined the British wherever they happened to be in possession, or else remained silent.

Loyalism in the Various Colonies.

Although Massachusetts is regarded as having been the hot-bed of patriotism at the outbreak of the Revolution, when the royal army evacuated Boston in 1776, upwards of eleven hundred Loyalists went with it. Nor were these British office-holders chiefly, but many men of distinguished rank and importance in the colony; eighteen were clergymen, two hundred and thirteen were merchants and other residents of the city, while of farmers, mechanics and traders, there were three hundred and eighty-two. Others had gone previously and some went later, making in all at least two thousand persons. Sabine is authority for the statement that in Connecticut, the proportion of Loyalists to the population was even greater than in Massachusetts.[36]

In all the northern colonies, New York was most thoroughly saturated with loyalism. She put, as has been before stated, only 17,781 regular soldiers and 23,852 militia into the War, while Massachusetts furnished 67,907. As an example of the preponderance of the Loyalists in that state, it may be mentioned that, not long after the close of the Revolutionary War, a bill was put through the State Assembly, prohibiting all persons from holding office who had allied themselves to the enemy. When this bill went to the upper branch of the Legislature, it was rejected, because it was stated, if it became a law, it would be impossible to hold elections in some portions of the state, because there were not enough Whigs in some localities to conduct the elections.[37]

(Continued.)

[36] Sabine's Loyalists, Vol. 1, p. 27.

[37] Sabine's Loyalists, Vol. 1, pp. 28–29.

Minutes of the September Meeting.

SEPTEMBER 5, 1919.

In the absence of Judge Landis, President, and of Dr. Diffenderffer, First Vice-President of this Society, H. Frank Eshleman, Esq., Second Vice-President, occupied the chair for the evening. He called upon D. B. Landis to act for the Secretary, C. B. Hollinger, who was absent.

Treasurer A. K. Hostetter presented and read his report and in the absence of Librarian Stehman, Mr. Hostetter read the report, showing a large number of donations, together with others added at the meeting, all of which are noted to report accompanying these minutes. Mr. S. M. Mylin, of Herrville, was the donator of a large number of books and pamphlets of general interest.

The complete list of donations and exchanges received follows:

A Victory Liberty Loan Honor Flag, from the U. S. Treasury Department.

Year Book of the Pennsylvania Society, 1919.

Program of Eleventh Annual Donegal Reunion, June 19, 1919.

Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1916.

Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletins 64 and 65.

New York State Museum Bulletin, March–April, 1918.

American Philosophical Society Proceedings, Pamphlets 1, 2 and 3, 1919.

The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, July, 1919.

The American Historical Review, July, 1919.

The Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine, July, 1919.

The Wisconsin Magazine of History, June, 1919.

Wyoming County Historical Society Proceedings, 1918.

Bucks County Historical Society Pamphlet, January, 1918.

The Linden Hall Echo, May and June, 1919.

German American Annals of 1919.

New York Library Historical Bulletin No. 12.

Annual Report of Carnegie Library, Pittsburgh, 1918.

List of References on the Monroe Doctrine—Library of Congress.

Allegheny County Memorial Meeting and Mothers' Day Observance, 1917.

The Carry-On Magazine of Reconstruction, June and July, 1919.

Washington State Historical Society Quarterly, July, 1919.

Historical papers and other local publications from C. B. Hollinger and F. R. Diffenderffer.

Old standard magazines from H. Frank Eshleman, Esq.

Report of the Woman's Committee for the Fifth Victory Liberty Loan Campaign, presented by Martha B. Clark.

Current Number of Lebanon County Historical Society.

Official Badge of 53d Annual Encampment, Department of Pennsylvania, G. A. R., Lancaster, June, 1919, presented by Washington F. Hambright.

Miscellaneous Local Publications by A. Herr Smith Library.

Poem, by David Bachman Landis, "Why We Rejoice," read before the late Landis Reunion, at Perkasie, Pa.

Mr. A. K. Hostetter reported progress in regard to the printing of pamphlets, etc.

For the Outing Committee, Miss Martha B. Clark stated that the Society would assemble at Cassel's Park, near Marietta, on Sept. 20th, and that programs for the occasion were being printed which would be mailed to members and guests the following week from regular meeting. Miss Adeline B. Spindler also made a statement for the musical part of the program, speaking of the leadership of Mr. Wm. A. Trost.

Mr. Eshleman then read for the author F. R. Diffenderffer, Litt.D., the paper of the evening, on "The Loyalists in the Revolution." This historical record was subdivided into headings, showing and treating both sides of popular feeling during the stirring Revolutionary period. Quite a number of prominent Pennsylvania men were noted in the activities of that time. The subject was more thoroughly gone into than of any previous paper in the Society's Proceedings, being exhaustive and informative. The pamphleteers of the war contributed considerable propaganda pro and con.

Brief discussions ensued participated in by Messrs. John H. Landis, Mrs. M. N. Robinson, Miss Clark, D. B. Landis and others.

Upon motion of Mr. Hostetter, publication of the paper was referred in the usual way to the Executive Committee.

The meeting then adjourned. There was a good attendance for the first Fall meeting.

D. B. LANDIS,
Secretary pro tem.



L5

PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1919

"History herself, as seen in her own workshop."



ITEMS OF LOCAL INTEREST IN THE PENNSYLVANIA GAZETTE, 1750 TO 1760 INCLUSIVE

By H. Frank Eshleman, Esq.

MINUTES OF THE OCTOBER MEETING.

VOL. XXIII. NO. 8.

PRICE TWENTY-FIVE CENTS PER COPY

LANCASTER, PA.
1919

9

Items of Local Interest in the Pennsylvania Gazette, 1750 to 1760 Inclusive - - - - - - - - - - - - - 133
Copied by H. Frank Eshleman, Esq.
Minutes of the October Meeting - - - - - - - - - - 149

or affirmation for faithful performance of their duty. The tickets to be sold by the managers in Lancaster."

This advertisement is repeated in the issue of June 20, 1751. And in it the drawing was postponed to August 9.

In the issue of August 22, it is stated that "Such persons as have had any of the Lancaster Lottery tickets to dispose of signed by John Hart are desired to send them to the undersigned, Adam Simon Kuhn, Robert Thompson or Isaac Whitlock, otherwise the managers must look upon them as kept at their own chance." The public are advised that the prizes shall be published immediately and paid on demand.

In the issue of September 15 the prizes and the winners are set out in a great maze of figures.

Note: From the above it appears that the sales were $800; of which $100 went toward the fire apparatus and $700 for prizes.

In the issue of June 20, there is the interesting local advertisement concerning George Gibson's tavern:

"To be sold by the subscriber in the boro of Lancaster, the house and lot he now lives on. It has been a tavern several years, being well provided with stables and other conveniences for that business. Also another house and lot adjoining the former, very fit for a shop keeper or tradesman. Any person inclining to purchase may apply to the subscriber living on the same. GEORGE GIBSON."

An early counterfeiting case in the local courts and the severe penalty for the same are set out in the issue of October 17, 1751, as follows:

"At a Court of Oyer and Terminer in Lancaster, a father and son named Sigismund Hainly were tried for counterfeiting the half crown and nine penny bills of the Province, found guilty and received sentence of death.

"The following is the substance of the confession of the father, which he made to several gentlemen in the jail after he received sentence. That when he was last in Germany he applied to a person in Hambleburg to engrave plates for printing the half crown and nine penny bills; that the person applied to was a printer who accordingly printed and signed about twenty pounds of them; and delivered them to him. That he brought them over with him and uttered about six pounds of them. That when they were discovered to be bad he put the rest into an oven and consumed them. That no one else conspired with him, or was concerned with him. That the plates were destroyed. That his son was innocent."

1752.

In the issue of April 12 of this year appears the following great feat of Ephraim Moore.

"Lancaster, the latter end of last month Mr. Ephraim Moore, a farmer of Donegal Township one hundred and four years old, at a wedding there of two hundred guests, in the presence of all, danced a Fancy to perfection and moved a minuet."

Reading and Lancaster. An article in the issue of July 2 states that the houses in Reading have just been counted last week and there were found to be 208 all built since the beginning of June, 1750.

We remember that Marshe in his diary in 1744 stated that Lancaster began being built 16 years earlier or 1728, or 22 years earlier than Reading. And in 1752 according to 5 Haz. Reg. 299, Lancaster Town, had 311 taxables. Gov. Pownall wrote that in 1754 when he visited Lancaster it had 500 houses, 2,000 people (Rupp 306).

In the issue of November 9, this years appears a news item stating that at Lancaster at a Court of Oyer and Terminer on the 26th of October Hamilton Carson was convicted of burglary and received sentence of death; and James McConnel and Esther his wife convicted of being accessories after the fact to the burglary committed by John Webster, were both burned in the hand.

1753.

The issue of May 17, 1753, contains an account of the burning of several houses in and near Lancaster growing out of the dangerous practice of burning off the woods in order to clear the land. The fire frequently spread and became unmanageable. Houses in Berks County were also so destroyed.

In the same issue there is an account of the run away of a Dutch servant of Daniel Lefever of Lampeter Township, eighteen years of age, who took with him two hats, a brown linsey woolsey and a light brown underjacket, an old leather breeches, two coarse shirts, a pair of coarse trowsers, white woolen stockings, two pairs of shoes, etc.

1754.

The issue of February 19, of this year contains an account of the gathering of the French and Indians from the Ohio to Logs Town, near which they have built a large town and fort and are making other preparations for the reception of the French troops which they gave out are to follow in the spring. The article goes on to state that a large number of French and Indians are coming up the Mississippi also; and that the Chippeways, Ontarios and Adirondacks are also to take up the hatchet against the English. This item caused consternation in Carlisle, Lancaster, etc.

The issue of March 5 contains the following:

"To be sold by Isaac Whitlock and Thos. Poultney the following houses in Lancaster:

"Four houses and lots on Orange Street—one a commodious brick house and the other three square log houses—also two small lots and log houses—one on Prince Street, a large frame house and back kitchen—also a property with a large carpenter shop built of square logs and with a small orchard on the premises—another on Prince Street, the lot 64 by 100 feet in size, with good frame house—one on King Street, lot being 32 by 120 feet—one on Water Street with a good log house and two frame houses—lot on Water street with six houses and a good tan yard and a stone house also on it—also ten acres of land in the Boro—also about half a mile from the Court House bounded on the great road leading from Lancaster to Conestoga Creek, a tract of 40 perches all under good fence.

"Thos. Poultney at his shop on King Street, near the Court House at the sign of the 'Hand Saw' has a fine variety of iron mongery and furniture suitable for desks, drawers, etc., etc."

1755.

The issue of May 15 contains the following item: "We hear from the counties of Lancaster, York and Cumberland, that notice being given there that wagons and carriage horses were wanting for the use of the army great numbers were immediately offered, and one hundred and fifty wagons laden with oats, Indian corn and other forage were dispatched to the camp in a few days, and as many more might have been had if wanted, the people offering with great readiness and cheerfulness from a zeal for his majesty's service."

We beg to note here as a historical fact that, during the reign of George II, the love of the colonies and especially of Pennsylvania, for the mother country, or rather particularly for the King, was very strong. The ancient newspapers of Philadelphia contain many items and accounts of public events in this province in which great zeal and loyalty were shown for and toward the King. The King's birthday especially was always a day of great rejoicing, festivities, toasts, parades, etc., etc.

In the same issue, last mentioned, there appears this item showing something of the improvement of the mails and of the means of travel, locally as well as generally, as follows:

"The new post between Philadelphia and Winchester in Virginia set out from the post office in Philadelphia this morning to continue his weekly stages setting out every Thursday morning during the summer. Letters for Lancaster, York or Cumberland Counties, and for the back parts of Virginia or for the army should be brought to the office before nine o'clock on Thursday mornings."

Also the following appears: "A tract of land for sale in West Town in Chester County, on the Great Conestoga Road,—By John Taylor."

In the issue of May 22, there appears an item showing that men of our locality were prominent in the ways and means of financing the French and Indian Wars. It is there stated: "Isaac Norris, Evan Morgan, Jos Fox, James Pendleton, James Wright, Joseph Armstrong and John Smith are appointed by the Assembly, a committee to borrow five thousand pounds to purchase victuals for the King's troops, on their arrival."

In the issue of May 29, it is stated "A Great number of wagons with forage are gone from Lancaster County to Wills Creek, for the army."

And closely connected with this item is the following in the same issue: "We hear from Wills Creek that his Excellency, General Braddock and all of his forces were arrived there; and that Scarroyody had likewise got to camp with a number of Indians."

In the issue of June 5, it is stated: "We hear from Wills Creek that the wagons and horses lately contracted for in the county of Lancaster, York and Cumberland Counties were safely arrived at the camp and gave great satisfaction to the General and the other officers, being for the most part by far the best of any that have been engaged in the service of the army since their arrival. We likewise hear that there are fine bottoms for several miles around the camp on which there is a great deal of good grass and other food for the horses."

In the same issue appears the following: "In Chester County a man was sentenced after trial by jury for speaking sedition and saying the King ought to have his head cut off. The sentence was, that he stand one hour in the pillory on Thursday and one hour the following Tuesday and wear on his back 'I stand here for speaking sedition against the best of Kings.'"

The issue of June 12 contains more news of provisioning the army, as follows: "Near sixty wagons laden with forage for the army have been dispatched from Philadelphia County to Wills Creek. The inhabitants of most of the townships of the county cheerfully gave comfortable bounties to the wagoners to encourage them to undertake the journey. Also a number of wagons laden with forage have gone from Lancaster and Berks Counties."

Rupp, p. 129, sets forth an extract of a letter written by John Slaymaker, Esq., in which the writer says that his father was in Braddock's campaign as a wagoner, that he drew a cannon into battle line with eleven horses, and they were all shot, etc." He also says (p. 242) that John Jacob Eichholtz was a wagon master.

The issue of July 24 contains the account of the defeat of General Braddock,—the number of horses shot under him—Washington's gallant conduct—the wounding of Captain Ross and an account of the loss, to wit, about 600 men killed and wounded.

Rupp, p. 307, mentions the fact that Colonel Dunbar, an officer under Braddock, stopped in Lancaster with his troops on his way to Philadelphia, after the disaster in Great Meadows; and that some of our county's citizens made complain to Assembly that Dunbar's troops put a number of cattle and horses into their meadows and destroyed the grass; and they demanded that the province pay them for it. We can hardly conceive that any of our citizens would deny pasturage and other conveniences and necessary food to those who were fighting to defend them from the French and Indians even at the very time that fear and terror were beginning to arise here because of the rumors that the Indians were coming eastward and were slaughtering the defenseless. But citizens whose whole lives are so selfish that they never consider the general welfare at all existed to a certain extent in those days, and we cannot boast that in our enlightened days they have been exterminated.

These items detailing the zeal with which our early patriots furnished wagons, etc., for the purpose of fighting the French and Indian Wars are of more than passing importance; all these noble acts were steps in the making of America. We owe it to the noble struggles of our forefathers in these days of 1755, that our country was able to grow westward to the Pacific. It was not a struggle for space or room, in 1755, between the French and the English, but for the ultimate control of the continent, which at that time seemed so vast to them that a thousand years would hardly overpopulate it. They looked far into the future.

In the issue of August 21, it is stated that "What seems most remarkable is that all the wagoners from Lancaster and York Counties in this province who engaged in the service of the army have returned safe but two; one of which died by sickness."

The issue of September 4 contains accounts of the desertions from the returning troops, of many of their number. And in the issue of September 11

there is a proclamation by the governor setting forth the names of those who deserted Colonel Dunbar's forces, stating the companies and regiments from which the desertions took place, and commanding all persons to assist in their apprehension.

In the issue of October 30 the early military activities of Washington are set forth and favorably commented upon.

In the same issue the effects of the defeat of Braddock, and of exaggerated stories of Indian atrocities, and of their marching toward the east under the leadership of the French are shown in the following extract of a letter from Lancaster, written presumably to the *Gazette:*

"As I imagine you have been alarmed before this time with a great deal of bad news from these parts, I think it my duty to give you as much light into the affairs as I can. About the 20th news was brought that the French and Indians had actually massacred and scalped a number of our inhabitants not more than 40 miles from Harris Ferry. It is reasonable to think the receipt of such news must put the inhabitants in the utmost confusion. About 45 of the stoutest of them got themselves mounted and in readiness the next day to go and bury the dead. They marched to the place accordingly and found no less than 14 bodies most shockingly mangled. Whilst they were in this place, some friendly Indians who were flying to the inhabitants for protection told them that there was a large body of French and Indians actually on their march to the inhabited parts of the Province and were already on this side of the Allegheny Mountains. Upon this, they concluded to go as far as Shamokin, to know whether the Indians assembled there were friends or enemies, for our people suspected these Indians to have knowledge of the murders. They desired to get further intelligence about those they heard were advancing against us. The Indians at Shamokin treated them civilly but had several councils and much whispering among themselves, which made our men suspicious of them, especially as some of them were missing soon afterwards. However in the morning Andrew Montour and Delaware George advised them to avoid going by a particular road, in which they said there was danger; but our men suspecting their sincerity, went their own way which was the very one they were cautioned to avoid, and were fired on by a party of Indians, about 40 in number some of whom they believed were with them the night before. Our men returned the fire in the best manner they could. One of them dropped off when the enemy first began, and escaped, but it is feared he is the only one to escape alive out of the whole. This news soon spread about the country and we were in the utmost confusion till yesterday we were told, there were fifteen more of our men returned. They all agree that it was the Delaware Indians that did the mischief. Our Court House Bell has been ringing most ever since to call the inhabitants to some consultation for safety. We hear there are about one hundred men already gone up to Harris Ferry, out of Donegal and places adjacent."

In another letter in the same issue it is stated that "The women and children in the back parts of Cumberland, Lancaster and Berks Counties are all come or coming to the townships that are thick settled and some of them are come to this city (Lancaster). In short the distress and confusion of our people in general on the frontier are inexpressible."

In the issue of November 6, an item dated Lancaster states that "We have great numbers from Lancaster and York Counties coming in every day for our assistance." And another item in the same issue states: "We have advices from Chester, Lancaster, York and Berks Counties that the inhabitants are daily assembling in great numbers in order to go to the assistance of the places most in danger."

These disquieting rumors spread to Maryland also. In the issue of November 20 there is printed part of a letter from Cecil County stating that "At daybreak the third ,instant messengers arrived here from New Castle County confirming the express sent in the night before, giving dismal accounts cf how fifteen hundred French and Indians had burnt Lancaster town to the ground and were proceeding downwards driving all before them, so that the inhabitants were in great distress. Upon this intelligence the officers immediately warned the militia, who convened three companies and a troop of horse and bravely resolved to march against the enemy, and on Tuesday they set out commanded by proper officers and attended with wagons carrying provisions, blankets and other necessaries, being better provided with arms and ammunitions, than could have been expected on so short notice. On Wednesday they assembled at the head of Elk River impatiently awaiting for the arrival of our other forces from the Susquehanna side, and orders to proceed. The like spirit raised the forces and Kent and Chesapeake, who began to march toward the head of Elk River on Thursday. But in the afternoon they were all remanded on the certain intelligence that the reports concerning Lancaster were all false. However they remained in readiness on account of the frequent expresses sent them from Baltimore, importing that the enemy had directed their route down the western side of the Susquehanna. But messengers being sent over the Bay being assured that this was not true, and no enemy in sight, the men were all discharged on Saturday evening. The number going from the two counties was about one thousand and many more were resolved to follow them; and five hundred more were intending to join them from Queen Anne's County. These forces marching from Maryland, with those marching from the three Lower Counties on Delaware, joined to those of Chester, Lancaster and Philadelphia by this time, might have formed an army of several thousand men in high spirits sufficient to repel any force that the French and Indians could raise against us. Hence it is evidence that British courage is no more degenerated in the Southern than in the Northern Colonies."

Here it is worthy to note that this and our neighbor counties north and west, in the lap on Southern Susquehanna Valley, escaped the ravages of the French and Indian, the Revolutionary and the Civil Wars, which in all instances raged all about us, York County in fact having a light touch of the Civil War. We should feel Providentially spared; and Providentially obligated to patriotic duty.

1756.

In the issue of February 5 appears an announcement of Robert Leake, Commissary General of Store and Provisions, in America as follows:

LANCASTER, February 2, 1756.

"Notice is hereby given to all persons concerned that I intend to begin at Lancaster, in Penna., by the 20th instant to pay off all such debts as shall appear just and well vouched, relating to provisions, carriage of the same by land and water, pack-horses, etc., that were contracted for by the late brave General Braddock or his order, likewise all the warranted officers belonging to the provision branch. And as I am credibly informed that many of the poor waggoners and those that had horses employed in the late expedition, have been severely persecuted by unmerciful criticism and evil disposed persons, and compelled to part with what may be due them for less than half the value, I therefore desire such persons as have been ill used by such vultures to appear personally. I appeal to yourselves concerning my conduct towards you and hope that wherever the service requires it that all of you will readily assist.

"I am your sincere friend ROBERT LEAKE, etc."

In the issue of March 11, it is stated in an item dated at Philadelphia that "Yesterday Col. Washington arrived here from the northward." This item is noted, because all the itineraries of Washington are important; and it might be possible that on his journey from the "northward" he may have passed through Lancaster. If, however, the "northward" means the Easton region, then his course would not have been in our neighborhood. But if he came from the northwest, then the principal and almost the only route was through Lancaster.

In the issue of March 23, there is a list of the officers who have received commissions from the governor under the Militia Law. To show Lancaster's relative importance, the numbers contributed from the several counties are now given.

Philadelphia Town	8 captains,	8 lieutenants,	8 ensigns.
Philadelphia County	10 captains,	9 lieutenants,	9 ensigns.
Bucks County	3 captains,	8 lieutenants,	3 ensigns.
Chester County	8 captains,	8 lieutenants,	8 ensigns.
Cumberland County	6 captains,	6 lieutenants,	6 ensigns.
York County	2 captains,	2 lieutenants,	2 ensigns.
Berks County	2 captains,	2 lieutenants,	2 ensigns.
Northampton County	2 captains,	2 lieutenants,	2 ensigns.
Lancaster County	10 captains,	10 lieutenants,	10 ensigns.

The Lancaster County Captains were: Lebanon Township, George Reynolds; Bethel Township, Henry Waggoner; Earl Township, Thomas Kittera, Robert Whitehill and John Edwards (three companies); West End Hanovar, Thos. Robinson; Earl and Leacock, John Long; Caernarvon, Wm. Douglass; Salisbury, John Hopkins, and Lancaster Boro, Philip Lynheer.

The Lieutenants were: Lebanon Township, Samuel Allen; Bethel Township, Abraham Hubley; Earl Township, Alexander Martin, Baltus Healy; West End Hanover, Benj. Wallace; Earl and Leacock, Robt. Long; Caernarvon, Myrick Davis; Salisbury, Isaac Richardson, and Lancaster Boro, Frederick Stone.

The Ensigns were: Lebanon Township, Christopher Zimmer; Bethel, ———— ————; Earl Township, Moses McIlvaine, Thomas David and Jacob Manny; West End Hanover, ———— ————; Earl and Leacock, Robert Smith; Caernarvon, Edward Davis; Salisbury, John Douglass, and Lancaster Boro, John Wood.

These may be noted somewhere in the Pennsylvania Archives but I cannot find them. From the fact that they are hard to find even if published, I think they may with profit be printed in our proceedings. We recognize several names among them that later became prominent.

Thomas Kittera may have been a relative of John W. Kittera, the first congressman of our county, whose body lies in the First Presbyterian Church yard, immediately east of the Church, under the chapel.

The issue of April 15 contains a list of letters uncalled for in the post office at Lancaster. There are about seventy in all. All the names are Scotch-Irish or English. There are no German names among them. This fact seems to attest the fact that Scotch-Irish and English were on the move, while the Germans remained in their original settlements.

The issue of July 8, contains an advertisement stating that Adam Aker makes all kinds of Dutch Fans for cleaning wheat, rye and other grains. That it will take cockle, etc., out and clean two hundred bushels per day. This is a Philadelphia advertisement. The inquiry suggests itself why our forefathers locally were laboriously winnowing their grains by much cruder methods, when so advanced a grain fan was invented. Old men living in our childhood have often told us their youthful experiences, tediously cleaning grain by tossing it into the air.

The issue of July 29th quotes the governor's message that Colonel Washington has returned to Philadelphia from Fort Cumberland bringing an account of the Indian activities at that place. It will be interesting to know whether this journey led Washington and his troops through Lancaster.

1757.

The issue of January 6 contains an extract from a letter written at Lancaster, upon the Indian activities as viewed from Lancaster, as follows:

"Monday last I left the mouth of Conecocheg where the Express arrived from Fort Cumberland, with an account that eight Catawbas and five white men had been to the mouth of Chartier's Creek about a mile from Fort Du Quesne where they attacked an Indian cabin. Near the Fort they fell in with one hundred Shawanese and Delawares with whom they engaged for some time; but were obliged to run. At Conecocheg the Indians killed a man near Fort Frederick and a Dutchman and his wife. A great lot of the enemy are at Rays Town, etc."

In the issue of April 21 there is an item stating that news from Lancaster is to the effect that 123 Catawba Indians are marching for Fort Cumberland and among them was King Highler, who swore revenge on the French for the death of his son.

The issue of May 12 states that on "Sunday last his honor the Governor set out for Lancaster accompanied by some of the gentlemen of his council and assembly."

The governor went to Lancaster to meet the Indians in treaty. As early as April 7, the Indians began to gather in the Borough. Mr. Shippen, Mr. Thompson, Mr. Boude and Captain Cane with a number of the inhabitants met the Indians some miles from the town (Vol. 7, Col. Rec., 510). The Governor reached Lancaster on or before May 11, for on that day he met the Indians there (Do. 517). Therefore his journey did not take very long. With good horses and it must be supposed a fair road from Philadelphia, he likely made the journey in a day or two. On the 12th they met in the Court House. Six members of the Council and six members of the Assembly together with the Speaker were with him (Do. 518). A snapshot of that gathering would be very interesting and instructive at this date.

In the issue of May 19 there is an extract from a Lancaster letter, regarding an expedition of Indians from Conecochegig to Rays Town.

In the issue of May 26 there is an account as follows: "We have received advice from Lancaster that on the 17th five men and a woman were killed and scalped by the Indians about 30 miles from that place and that the bodies of three of the men had been brought down there by some of the neighbors. It is also stated that an Express arrived in Lancaster with the news that seven people were killed in a house near there by the Indians; that the people are again in great distress. Murders have been committed of late in Hanover —Bethel—Lebanon and Paxtang all in Lancaster County."

The issue of June 9 contains an item concerning the movement of munitions through Lancaster as follows: "We hear from Lancaster that nine wagon loads of ammunition arrived there on the third from Winchester in Virginia for the use of his majesty's forces at Carlisle."

In the issue of July 7 there is a report from the commission for the investigation of Indian outrages, which was appointed by the governor and sat and held hearings at Lancaster, dated May 18, 1757. The commissioners, Wm. Masters, John Boynton and James Galloway, among other things state that they have considered a letter or complaint from the citizens of Hanover containing an account of the murders committed by the Indians and of the imminent danger of the people. They find the people in danger and request that the governor as the head of the military power and forces, raise a larger number of men for defense, which power the said commissioners do not have. They call the governor's attention to the fact that the Assembly have voted a sum of money for the defense of the Province; and have appointed commissioners to dispose of it. But they say unless the military force of the province is better regulated and the officers employed therein discharge their duty with more punctuality and energy than they have done hitherto, little advantage can be gotten from the money granted by the people's Assembly, and the people will continue to have no assistance. It is with great concern they say "how little benefit the provincial troops are in protecting the people. From numerous instances it is plain that the enemy come in between our forts, destroy the inhabitants within sight of them, and return unmolested while our men remain inactive in garrison and of little service. These reasons induce us to recommend to the governor as the most effectual method of helping Hanover inhabitants to give order that a number of scouting parties constantly range the borders; otherwise the intention of this legislation will be frustrated." Signed by the commission.

In the same issue there is a public call dated Lancaster for the necessity of three companies of Colonel Weiser's regiment to march to Fort Augusta.

There is also in the same issue an item stating that several murdered Indians were at this time brought to Lancaster and exposed in the Streets to be viewed by the people.

In the issue of October 6 the election returns for Lancaster County are given; but not the number of votes cast or received by the various candidates. Those elected to Assembly are James Wright, James Webb, Emanuel Carpenter and Isaac Saunders. For sheriff Jos. Pugh and Wm. Smith. For Coroner Mathias Slough and Benj. Price. The governor selected the sheriff and coroner from two candidates in each case returned by the people. These election returns are found in this paper annually. They may also be found in the Votes of Assembly and Colonial Records. Thus I have not made regular note of them.

. I may turn to a Chester County political item in the issue of December 1, in which a justice of the peace urges the governor to redress his grievance, to wit, that the Assembly has used him ill for saying that they should stop quarreling in their sessions and do something for the people, and especially protect the people from the Indians.

1758.

In the issue of January 12 of this year the following list of names and addresses as throwing some light on the locations or supposed locations of certain citizens in 1758: Thos. Butler, Lancaster; Archee Brownlee, George Black, Little Britain; Thos. Brown, Chestnut Level; James Cummins, Lancaster County; Rev. John Cuthbertson, Octoraro; James Duncan, Lancaster County; John Edwards (do.); John Cordon (do.); Thos. Jacobs, Chestnut Level; Garrett Cavanaugh, Lancaster County; James Karr, Donegal; Wm. Moore, Lancaster County; James McDonel, Chestnut Level; John Middleton, Donegal; James McCormick, Lancaster Road; Wm. M. Nein, Susquehanna; John Naylor, Susquehanna; Isaac Richardson, Pequea; Wm. Reed, Little Britain; Wm. Read, Chestnut Level; John Stephenson, Donegal; Robt. Steele, Chestnut Level; Thos. Thornbury, Lancaster, and Thos. Whiteside, Lancaster.

Some of these persons became prominent in later years, or at least persons of the same name, such as the Middletons, Cuthbertsons, Duncans and others.

In the issue of February 23, there is a sheriff sale item fixing the location of one of the Indian Towns. In it Joseph Pugh, sheriff, gives notice under date of February 14, 1758, that by virtue of a writ to him directed he will sell a plantation in Donegal Township, fronting on the Susquehanna River containing 310 acres, of good land well timbered. It recites that one "part of it formerly having been an Indian Town." There is erected on it a good stone house two stories high, a good barn and stables and other conveniences. Taken as the property of James Lowry deceased at the suit of Andrew Bogg.

I beg to note in passing that the news of the fall of Lewisburg to the English, and of the defeat of the French, caused public rejoicing throughout the Province, and no doubt locally as well as in Philadelphia. But in Philadelphia great and brilliant demonstrations were held, in the way of illumination, rockets and mechanically illuminated effects, etc., etc. The issue of

September 7 has columns upon the subject; and any one will be repaid by reading them.

1759.

The issue of March 22 of this year contains the order of Colonel Bouquet, Colonel of Foot in America, that all soldiers in the first and second battalions of Pennsylvania Regiment who are on furlough shall repair to Lancaster, Reading and Carlisle, where officers will be ordered to receive them in order to receive their pay. Signed Jos. Shippen, Brigade Major.

The issue of May 24 contains a notice by General Stanwix, commanding his Majesty's Forces in the southern provinces of America, that wagons will be wanted for His Majesty's service and to secure the same and to avoid severe measures the following advantageous offer is made. The number of wagons from each county is as follows:

Philadelphia County	80	Northampton County	30
Chester County	60	York County	50
Bucks County	64	Cumberland County	30
Berks County	60	Lancaster County 200	

Each wagon to load at the "Grand Magazine," Carlisle, and for every hundred weight carried from thence to Pittsburgh (formerly Fort DuQuesne) to receive 45 shillings and 6 pence. Provender and horses to be furnished by the owners. The drivers to be furnished with provisions at the King's Troops.

The wagons shall be appraised and if taken or destroyed be paid for. Escorts of soldiers will be provided. The counties of York, Lancaster and Cumberland and Berks to be paid at Lancaster and those of Philadelphia, Chester, Bucks and Northampton to be paid for at Philadelphia.

The wagons from Lancaster to be at Carlisle the 8th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th and 16th of June. Each wagon to be fitted with four good strong horses properly harnessed. The wagons to be complete in everything, to be large and strong, with a drag chain eleven feet in length, with a hook at each end, a knife (scythe) for cutting grass, a falling ax and shovel and two sets of clouts, five sets mauls; an iron hoop on end of each axle tree, a line mangue, a two-gallon keg of tar and oil mixed together, slip bell, hopples (hobbles), two sets shoes, four sets shoe nails for each horse, eight sets spare hames, five sets hame strings, a bag to receive their provisions, a spare set of linch pins, and a hand screw (hoist-jack) for every three wagons. The drivers must be able-bodied men, capable of loading and unloading and assisting each other.

In the issue of June 14 Gen. Stanwix announces to those who are to enter carriages into his Majesty's service that the following persons are the appraisers of the value of the wagons, etc.: for Lancaster County, Edward Shippen; Berks County, Conrad Weiser, and Chester County, Roger Hunt.

In the same issue John Hughs gives notice that as Gen. Stanwix appointed Colonel Bouquet to contract with the inhabitants for a number of wagons to carry provisions and forage to Fort Bedford, and Bouquet has empowered said Hughs for certain of the counties and has given him money to pay for the wagons, that advances of 4 pounds will be made to each wagon. It is also

stated that the wagons to be loaded at Lancaster, or at any of the mills, will have ferriage of the Susquehanna paid for them.

Under date and issue of June 28 it is stated that whereas a number of the King's horses were lost marked with a "G. R.," with horse shoes and other marks and wagon horses branded "G. R.," they being lost in the confusion of the year and charged in the account of the King and the same were afterwards found and returned to the owners such persons as have the same shall deliver them forthwith at Lancaster, York, Carlisle, Fort Loudon or Bedford to be used in the employ of His Majesty, who has employed the same and advanced moneys thereon, for the present expedition. Those who shall return the same shall receive 55 shillings for the return of each horse; but if any person keep such horses after this notice they shall be punished as horse stealers. Edward Shippen will receive such horses at Lancaster.

Note: It will be seen here that either by design, bad management or by accident, some of the horses after having been started on the journey were lost, and were found by certain persons and taken back to the owners after the public authorities had hired them and paid advance money on the contract. The penalty for horse stealers was or recently had been capital.

In the issue of August 30 it is stated that the Braddock road which was ordered to be opened is almost finished to Pittsburgh. A large convoy of 30,000 weight of flour, 240 bullocks and 200 sheep, it is stated, arrived there. General Stanwix with the rear of the army set out from Bedford for Pittsburgh, Monday last.

In the issue of October 4 Ludwig Bierly and Jerome Kunselman give notice that those gentlemen who have been receiving their papers by the Lancaster post and who are in arrear must leave their respective balances due to these carriers, with the several landlords where they receive their papers or they will not be served any longer.

In the issue of October 11 appears the names of those elected to the Assembly for Lancaster County: James Wright, Emanuel Carpenter, Isaac Saunders and James Webb. Those returned for sheriff were Wm. Smith and Zach. Davis. Those for coroner, Mathias Slough and Saml. Boude.

The same issue states that for about a month the army has been employed in making a most formidable fortification such as will protect the "British Empire on the Ohio."

In the issue of November 1 appears a stage advertisement concerning the four-horse stage to New York; and it contains a cut or picture of the stage wagon with a covered top in the shape of the Conestoga Wagon. I insert this to show that at this date the style of wagon known as the Conestoga Wagon was in use, whether or not the name was employed then or not until a later time.

1760.

In the issue of January 10 of this year there is an article headed: "Help! Help! Help!" which goes on to say that wood is 3 pounds and 10 shillings a cord, a price never before heard of. It also states that people steal it from the back yards, etc.

The issue of February 7 contains great and enthusiastic articles upon the joy and jollification over the fall of Quebec.

The issue of March 13 gives notice that "All the members of the Lancaster Library Company are desired to meet on Thursday, the 27th inst., precisely at 2 o'clock in the afternoon at the house of Mr. Mathias Slough to subscribe their articles and transact other business necessarily requiring their attendance. By Order of the Committee of Directors.

SAMUEL MCGAW, *Librarian.*

In the issue of April 10 it is announced that there is just published at nine pence "A Letter From A Tradesman in Lancaster to the Merchants of Philadelphia respecting the loan of money to the government, with some remarks on the consequences of refusal." This letter is in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and is No. Api. 393 Gilpin.

The issue of May 15 states that on Thursday, May 1, at the public Commencement of the College of the City (Philadelphia) the degree of B.A. was conferred on Thomas Mifflin, Patrick Allison et al. And also the same degree on Rev. Thos. Barton, of Lancaster (Honorary) and Rev. Samson Smith, of Chestnut Level (Honorary). Also the same on Rev. James Latta and Rev. Jacob Duche.

In the issue of May 22, the estate notice in the estate of Thomas Musgrove fixes his late residence in Lampeter Township.

In the issue of May 29, General Stanwix announces that a certain number of wagons are necessary to take provisions to Pittsburgh from Lancaster, Carlisle; and that such as are willing to furnish the same shall have the following pay: From Philadelphia to Lancaster, 3 shillings and 6 pence per hundred weight—Lancaster to Carlisle 4 shillings—Carlisle to Bedford 17 shillings and 6 pence—Bedford to Ligonier (50 mi) 15 shillings, besides 11 bushels of oats and provisions for drivers. Ferriage over Susquehanna will be paid. Wagons and horses destroyed will be paid for; and one wagon master will be appointed for every 25 wagons. Payment will be made on return, at Carlisle or York. Signed

WM PLUMSTEAD
DAVID FRANKS } *Contractors for the Crown.*

In the same issue Jerome Heinselman begs those living on the Lancaster and Philadelphia Road, and on the "back way" to Octoraro and Donegal and points beyond the Susquehanna to make payment for carriage of their papers for the years 1758 and 1759.

In the issue of June 5 there is a notice of a stray from Geo. and James Reid of "Martix" Township.

In the issue of July 10 the King's contractors for horses and wagons warns those who take goods from Philadelphia to Lancaster and Carlisle that their custom of stopping at their homes along the road is a great detriment to the service and that the payment promised them in the advertisements will be "stopt" unless they proceed continuously to the delivery of the goods to their destination.

The issue of July 24 states that Four Companies of Royal Americans marched from Pittsburg to Presque Isle under Colonel Bouquet; and that 3 companies of the Pennsylvania Regiment, Captains Clapham, Biddle and Anderson, would follow. Also two days later they will be followed by two more

Pennsylvania Companies under Captain Atlee and Captain Mills. Their destination is to be Detroit beyond Presque Isle.

In the issue of August 28 it is stated that Captains Ross, Compland, Smith and Brinnington are arrived at St. Christophers.

In the issue of September 11 Thomas Harris advertises 800 acres of land in Donegal for sale. It is well watered and timbered and in a full settled part of Lancaster County. One hundred acres cleared, and 30 in good meadow all well watered by a stream that may be directed to all parts. Improved by a convenient square log dwelling house, a young orchard, a double barn. Also a good stone house 40 feet long and 28 feet wide containing 4 rooms on each floor and a cellar and a good double barn and fine apple and cherry trees. It has a good overshot grist mill with two pairs of stones, three bolting cloths and hoisting gears, all going by water. The same is supplied by a plentiful stream of water, constant throughout the year, capable of turning out twenty barrels of flour every twenty-four hours, with proper attendance or upwards of seven thousand barrels a year. Also a good saw mill, distilling house, cooper shop and storehouse lying in a fine part of the country for the purchasing of wheat and other grains. The subscriber lives on the premises and will give title thereto. Signed Thomas Harris.

This item gives an adequate and a surprising picture of the advanced condition of that section of the country at the early date of 1760; and will aid, I hope, in preventing us from getting the notion that the country up to the Revolutionary War and afterwards, was very primitive.

In the issue of October 9 appears the Lancaster County election return: Assembly, Emanuel Carpenter, Isaac Saunders, Jacob Webb and James Wright. Sheriff, Wm. Smith and John Hay. Coroner, Mathias Slough and Robert Fulton.

This was Robert Fulton's father. He died about 1768; and it is well known that he was more than ordinarily active in public affairs.

In the issue of October 16 there is an advertisement announcing that Francis Rawle, the subscriber, attorney for the Trustees that the trustees will sell the Pennsylvania Company's lands, as by Act of Parliament they are empowered to do, at public sale. This land consisted of many tracts in Philadelphia; and parcels also in Bucks, Lancaster, Berks Counties and in New Jersey. The sales were to be held in April and May, 1761.

In the issue of October 30, Robert Monckton, Brigadier General, etc., of His Majesty's forces, gives notice to all who have demands for carriage of provisions or stores to the western army since the commencement of the campaign to bring their certificates of delivery. Those of Lancaster, York and Cumberland Counties will be paid by Adam Hoopes, etc.

The same issue contains an item showing how members of families were liable to be separated and pass out of the knowledge of one another. Notice is given that "Whereas Rudolph Miller and Barbara Miller came over from Switzerland to the Province with their father Jacob Miller, since deceased, and their sister Regina; and the said Rudolph and Barbara were then bound out apprentices; and the said Regina has never since heard of her brother and sister, she therefore desires them if they hear of this advertisement to direct a letter to her or to her husband, Daniel Kahn, living at Conestoga Ferry near Lancaster."

In the issue of November 6 is the notice that the Right Honorable General Monckton arrived by way of Lancaster from Pittsburg in Philadelphia. He was attending to the paying for the wagons and supplies furnished by the people of Pennsylvania, etc., for the western campaign, to make safe the "British Empire on the Ohio."

In the issue of November 27 there is an item relating to Reading, but also of local interest because of the similarity of the towns in many ways. It is stated that "Whereas in June, 1759, a wagoner who lives near Reading acquainted the subscriber that he had about Christmas before lost several bars of steel on the road between Reading and Philadelphia and the same being advertised in the *Dutch News* was procured by the subscriber for the owner, who has not since been heard of; notice is now given that the steel will be sold to defray the charges. Signed Geo Alentz."

One is not inclined to think that the manufacture of steel began so long ago. We think of those days as the iron age rather than the steel age.

In the issue of December 11 the tracts of the Pennsylvania Land Company's holdings are set out. There are 15 of them all told, and among them "League Island"—also 2,500 Acres in Lampeter and Manheim Townships in our County—also 1,874 acres in Strasburg Township, adjoining John and Isaac Ferree, Mathias Slaymaker and others. And in the issue of December 18 is set forth the Act of Parliament reciting the old deeds of lease and release of August 11 and 12, 1699, from William Penn to Tobias Collet et al., which is the original title deed of several thousand acres of land in our county.

Minutes of the October Meeting.

LANCASTER, PA., October 3, 1919.

The Historical Society held its regular monthly meeting at the accustomed place, the President, Judge C. I. Landis, presiding. The minutes of September meeting were read and approved.

The Treasurer reported a balance on hand of $350.30. His report was adopted.

The Corresponding Secretary was instructed to acknowledge the donations in the usual manner.

A letter from the Secretary of the Pennsylvania Council of National Defense, requesting the Lancaster County Historical Society to furnish an account of the war activities of its members was read and, on motion, referred to the committee appointed at the February meeting, consisting of Messrs. A. K. Hostetter, H. Frank Eshleman and Miss Adeline B. Spindler.

On motion of Mrs. A. K. Hostetter a vote of thanks was extended to Hon. and Mrs. H. Burd Cassel for the hospitality shown the Lancaster County Historical Society at its outing held at Cassel's Park, September 20; also to Dr. Montgomery for his instructive address delivered at that time.

The historical paper of the evening was prepared and read by H. Frank Eshleman, Esq., his subject being "Items of Local Interest in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*."

The following persons were nominated for membership: Hon M. R. Hoffman, Maytown, Pa.; Mrs. M. R. Hoffman, Maytown, Pa.; Mrs. B. F. Hoffman, Bainbridge, Pa.; H. D. Malschnee, Manheim, Pa.; Ross Myers, 240 East King Street, Lancaster, Pa.

Librarian Harry Stehman reported that the several donations and exchanges received by the Historical Society during the past month were:

American Philosophical Society Proceedings, Nos. 4 and 5, 1919.

Western Reserve Historical Society's Annual Reports, 1919.

American Weekly Mercury, donated by Miss L. Evans, Columbia, Pa., through Miss Clark.

Portrait of Peter Shindel, also Flute and Cockade worn during his services in the Revolution.

Millersville Normal Monthly, September, 1873 to 1874, by Albert K. Hostetter.

The report of the Librarian was approved and the Corresponding Secretary was instructed to extend Society's thanks for the donations.

The following data, accompanying the Peter Shindel portrait, is of historical interest:

Tillie May Forney, daughter of John Wien and Elizabeth Matilda Reitzel Forney, and Philip Reitzel Shattuck, son of Mason A and Sarah Porter Shat-

tuck; being great-grandchildren of Peter Shindel, of Revolutionary repute, claim the privilege of presenting to "The Lancaster County Historical Society" the portrait, fife and cockade of their distinguished ancestor.

Peter Shindel, whose mortal remains lie in the Lancaster Cemetery, died in that city on February 9th, 1848. He was born April 29th, 1760.

Family history has it that the event occurred on a sailing vessel three days out from New York. His parents, after some six months of hazardous sea-travel, landing on new shores from their native Holland.

As a boy-fifer in July, 1776, Peter Shindel entered Revolutionary Service, under Captain Andrew Graff, of Colonel George Ross' Regiment. A little more than a year later, under Captain Stoever, of Colonel Greenwalt's Regiment, he was promoted to Brigade Fife-Major.

At the memorable battles of Germantown and Brandywine he bore conspicuous and prominent parts, going out a third time under Captain William Wurts.

In 1778, while in Captain App's Company, he volunteered to convey the Hessian prisoners from Lancaster to Philadelphia, continuing this work; heroic, considering his tender age; until the termination of the war. He won the increasing approval and esteem of his commanding officers.

Peter Shindel rounded out his life of 88 years, mainly in Lancaster, holding the respect of his fellow-citizens as he had that of his military command.

His wife, Elizabeth, whose death preceded his by a little more than a year, was his faithful companion for 67 years.





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LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 1919

"History herself, as seen in her own workshop."

THE LOYALISTS IN THE REVOLUTION,
By Frank R. Diffenderffer, Litt.D.
MINUTES OF THE NOVEMBER MEETING.

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The Loyalists in the Revolution - - - - - - - - - - 155
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The Loyalists in the Revolution.

Second Paper.

By FRANK R. DIFFENDERFFER, Litt.D.

Nowhere was there more timidity and indecision than in our own state. The very best men were to be found on both sides when the final rupture came. While Franklin may be regarded as the head and front of the Whig element, some of his warmest personal and political friends were Loyalists. For a long time, the cause in Pennsylvania was in great doubt. In addition to the fact that the ruling element of the population was almost exclusively British, the further fact that almost two thirds of the population were, from conscientious scruples, opposed to a resort to the arbitrament of arms for a solution of the existing troubles, is to be considered. The Quakers were men of peace and consequently Loyalists almost to a man, although of course there were some prominent exceptions. Joseph Galloway, an excellent witness, when examined by a committee of the House of Commons, declared that, had General Howe issued a proclamation when he entered Philadelphia, 3,500 men from Philadelphia and New Jersey would have rallied to his standards, and that more than fifty prominent gentlemen went to him and proffered their services in disarming the disaffected, but could not get even so much as an interview from him. Even John Dickinson did not seem to know his own mind. Between 1765 and 1775, he wrote much and ably as a Whig, but in 1776, he opposed the Declaration of Independence and was an uncompromising antagonist of the scheme of independence; and there were many more like him.

On October 16, 1775, while the Congress of the Colonies was sitting in Philadelphia, sluggish and irresolute, hardly knowing its own mind, the newly elected Legislature of Pennsylvania was organized. Chosen under a dread of independence, all of its members who were present subscribed the usual engagements of allegiance to the king. A few days later the Quakers presented an address in favor of "the most conciliatory measures," and deprecating everything "likely to widen or perpetuate the breach with the parent state."[1]

Could any facts show more completely the prevailing diversity of public sentiment, or the chaotic condition of affairs generally?

It is a notable fact that in July, 1777, the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania instructed Col. William Henry of Lancaster Borough to disarm all those citizens of this county who had not taken the oath of allegiance to the cause of the Colonies. Col. Henry was the father of that patriotic son of Lancaster, who ran away to Boston to join Arnold's expedition against Canada and who later became Judge of our County Court.

[1] Ban., Vol. 8, p. 119.

In Virginia, everything was doubt and uncertainty. As late as March 15. 1776, Joseph Reed, of Pennsylvania, wrote to Washington as follows: "It is said the Virginians are so alarmed with the idea of independence, that they have sent Mr. Braxton on purpose to turn the vote of that colony, if any question on that subject should come before Congress." In reply, Washington wrote of the Virginians that "from their form of government and steady attachment heretofore to royalty, they will come reluctantly into the idea of independence." All this was within three months of the period when Congress actually pronounced the independence of the colonies.

In North Carolina, the two parties were pretty evenly divided. She was monarchially inclined from the beginning, and received large accessions to her native Loyalists from Scotland when the Stuarts were overthrown. Ignorance prevailed. According to Josiah Martin, her last royal governor, there were only two schools in the colony in 1775. Even the Whigs were unstable,—sometimes on the right side, and, when the King's troops came along, on his side. Thomas Jefferson, in his later years, directly accused William Hooper, a North Carolina delegate to Congress in 1776, of being a rank Tory. There are good reasons to doubt the truth of the accusation. That there were many men of the genuine stamp in the state, the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, written a year before Jefferson's fully attests.

South Carolina.

No state perhaps was more torn by political dissensions than South Carolina. Many of her citizens were immigrants from various parts of Europe, and opposed independence. After Charleston was taken, the people flocked by hundreds to the royal banner. Sir Henry Clinton reported to his home government that the entire State had submitted to the English government and was again a part of the British Empire. It was owing to the gallantry of a few men like Marion, Pickens and Sumpter, that the Loyalists did not overrun the country. The fact is, the political condition of the State was deplorable. With the two sides so evenly divided, and the country overrun in turn by both the Whig and the Loyalist troops, the people were embittered by their sufferings and were led to commit all manner of outrages on each other. The rules and courtesies of civilized warfare were often ignored, and murder and rapine took the place of honorable warfare. General Green, a most competent witness, described the condition of things as follows: "The animosities between the Whigs and Tories render their situation truly deplorable. The Whigs seem determined to extirpate the Tories, and the Tories the Whigs. Some thousands have fallen in this way in this quarter, and the evil rages with more violence than ever. If a stop cannot be put to these massacres, the country will be depopulated in a few months, as neither Whig nor Tory can live." That eminent jurist, John Marshall, says in his "Life of Washington" that "the people of the South felt all the miseries which are inflicted by war in its most savage form. Being almost equally divided between the two contending parties, reciprocal injuries had gradually sharpened their resentments against each other, and had armed neighbor against neighbor, until it had become a war of extermination. As the parties alternately triumphed, opportunities

were alternately given for the exercise of their vindictive passions." In conclusion, it can truthfully be stated that the Loyalists were in the ascendant in South Carolina until the close of the war. It also deserves to be mentioned that, when the British forces, under General Prevost, invested Charleston, there was a day's negotiation to adjust the terms of surrender, after which "the correspondence closed with the proposal on our part of neutrality to the town and state during the war, the peace to fix its ultimate condition."[2] This proposed action was a clear proposal to desert the cause of the colonies, with a probable return of the royal government.

In Georgia, the cause of independence was more favorably regarded, but it was far from being good. That colony sent no delegates to the first Continental Congress, but was represented in the second. It was at first found difficult to found a liberty party, although in the end Georgia sent 2,679 troops into the Continental service,—the smallest number contributed by any state, Delaware alone excepted. But her loyal governor, Sir James Wright, was an able man and raised a considerable force of Loyalists for the King's service, and many Whigs were compelled to seek refuge in the adjoining states.

On the whole, it may safely be said that the Loyalists were more numerous in the south, in Pennsylvania and New York, than in the New England colonies.

When we come to examine the attitude of the newspaper press at the outbreak of the war, we find that a very considerable portion was arrayed against independence. There were thirty-seven papers published in the colonies in 1775, of which seven or eight espoused the cause of the crown.

Treatment of the Loyalists.

As the contest proceeded and the Whigs got the upper hand, sterner measures were adopted. They were compelled to give up their arms, to take the oath of allegiance, to undergo imprisonment, to confinement in irons and to labor on the construction of barracks. Later, banishment was resorted to. Pennsylvania sent some of her Loyalists to Virginia and New York. New York transported some of her own to Pennsylvania, to New Hampshire, Connecticut and Massachusetts. The most dangerous were placed in jail after transportation, but others were allowed some privileges on parole. Generally, the treatment was all the circumstances would allow. Medical attendance was given the sick. Frequently their families were allowed to join them in their exile. Sometimes the starving were fed. But at times the treatment was more severe, varying often with the fortunes of the war.[3]

Later, trials for treason were ordered. Confiscations of property were begun, and the gallows was called upon to do its ignoble work. Agents were appointed to keep watch on suspected or open Loyalists, to ascertain their possessions and to report and suggest the course of action to be taken. The State of New York realized from confiscations of personal property nearly $400,000—Spanish dollars. The total loss to the Loyalists was no doubt fully double; including all kinds of property, the amount was estimated at $3,600,000.

[2] Lee's History of the War in the South.

[3] Flick's Loyalism in New York, pp. 121–122.

One result followed this confiscation of lands that was beneficial to the State at large. The Patroons, the holders of vast landed estates, were nearly all Loyalists. When their lands were confiscated they were sold in small parcels. The land of James De Lancey was sold to 275 individuals, and the 50,000 acres of Roger Morris to 250 persons. All this served to weaken the feudal element which prevailed in that State, and unquestionably resulted beneficially to the general welfare.

Out of a population of 185,000 in the State of New York at the outbreak of the Revolution 90,000 were Loyalists. Of these 35,000 are believed to have left and 55,000 accepted the inevitable and remained, becoming valuable members of the young state.[4]

Complete separation only became the final issue early in 1776. When this new issue did come, the Loyalists denounced it as revolution and anarchy. Parties then divided on stricter lines. Every man had now to choose the master he would serve; whether he would remain a subject of Great Britain, or by declaring himself a citizen of the newly born nation become a traitor to the crown. There could be no middle ground. Those who tried to remain neutral received no consideration from either party. It was a forced issue. The Loyalists found their cause a hard one to accept. Most of them were Americans, as were the Whigs, and proud of it into the bargain. They felt the action of the crown as keenly as the latter and also desired justice and relief, but had hoped to secure both from the King and his ministers.

Town and district committees were appointed with authority to arrest and examine the disaffected persons and deal with them according to the degree of their disaffection. I will cite the result of the first examinations held in New York as a fair example of the views of the persons investigated everywhere.

The first person of prominence examined was Whitehead Hicks. He said he held crown offices and had sworn allegiance to the king, and hence would not take up arms against him. He was not willing to be taxed by Parliament, yet he had refused to sign the association. He believed arms should be used only as a last resort, and he was not prepared to say that all other measures had been exhausted. The committee decided that he was not friendly to the American cause and put him on parole.

William Axtell did not believe Parliament had a right to bind the Colonies in all cases, nor did he approve of the program of the opposition. He wished to remain neutral for the sake of his property, and objected to being paroled. He was turned over to the Provincial Congress.

Captain Archibald Hamilton said he loved America, that he had fought, bled, and been in irons for her, that he wished her free and happy, and would not draw his sword against her; neither would he unsheath it against his brothers on the King's side. He was dismissed on his parole of honor.

John Wildt denied the right of Parliament to levy internal taxes in America, but would not take up arms against the King. His other answers were so equivocal that he was released under a £2,000 bond. These are fair samples of the sentiments of the extreme type of Loyalists in 1776.[5]

[4] Flick's Loyalism in New York, p. 159 and 182.

[5] Flick's Loyalism in New York, 69–72–73.

The sentiment in favor of "political liberty" was strong, but at the same time it was crude and not consistent. Those who were loudest in proclaiming it were often found denying it to their Loyalist neighbors. Every Tory of prominence was likely to feel the vengeance of his Whig neighbors when opportunity offered. The latter learned it in the wanton destruction of their printing presses and types; it was manifested in the burning of individuals in effigy, continually in tarrings and featherings, ridings on rails through the streets, the breaking of windows, the stealing of live stock and personal effects, and the destruction of property generally. To refuse to accept the violent views of the Whigs was to be "disaffected," and even a suspicion of that was sufficient to cause arrest and imprisonment, all at the victim's own expense. When necessary the property of the victim was confiscated and used to meet the expenses.

What Did Loyalism Mean?

One of the most interesting phases of the entire Loyalism question presented itself when the contest for independence was over. What was to be done with these people who had lost fortune as well as country in trying to serve their King? It was not an easy problem to solve. It could hardly be expected that the nation which they attempted to destroy should care for them. This fact was recognized at the very outset of the peace negotiations. Great Britain insisted on compensation to the Loyalists whose estates had been seized and forfeited. Her Commissioners tried hard to persuade Franklin, Adams and Jay to do justice to these unfortunate people. Days were spent in discussing this point; the English Commissioners insisting and ours as persistently refusing to make reparation.

There were various reasons for this attitude on the part of our Commissioners. That the Loyalists by their advice, falsehoods and misrepresentations had not only done much to bring on the war, but were also largely instrumental in prolonging it, there is no room to question; they were therefore in some measure the authors of their own misfortune. Many had taken up arms and aided in plundering and murdering their loyal fellow citizens. The property which had been confiscated had more than once changed owners and its return to its original owners was almost an impossibility in many cases. Besides, the country was in no condition to recompense its own citizens who had lost their property, much less to settle the demands of its enemies. Congress had instructed the Commissioners to enter into no negotiations respecting the claims of the Loyalists unless Great Britain agreed to make compensation for the property of American citizens destroyed by her.

Articles 4, 5 and 6 of the Treaty as finally concluded, deal with this vexed question. Article 5 provided that "Congress should recommend to the several States to provide for the restitution of certain of the confiscated estates; that certain persons should be allowed a year to endeavor to recover their estates; that persons having rights in confiscated lands should have the privilege of pursuing all lawful means to regain them; and that Congress should use its recommendatory powers to cause the States to revoke or reconsider their confiscation laws. Congress unanimously assented to this arrangement, and issued the recommendation to the States which the treaty contemplated."

In the House of Lords as well as in the House of Commons this partial abandonment of the Loyalist created a violent discussion. Mr. Wilberforce said he saw his country humiliated thereby. Lord Mulgrave regarded it as a lasting national disgrace. Edmund Burke declared these people had risked their all and the nation owed them protection. Mr. Sheridan execrated the treatment the nation was giving these unfortunates, and he denounced as a crime, the giving of them into the hands of their enemies, the victims of confiscation, tyranny, resentment and oppression. Lord Walsingham declared he could scarce speak of the dishonor with patience. Lord Townsend said it was a circumstance of such cruelty as had never been heard of. Lord Stormond asserted that Britain was bound by justice, honor, affection and gratitude to provide for and protect them. Lord Loughborough believed that neither in ancient nor modern history had there been such a shameful desertion of men who had sacrificed all to duty and to their reliance upon British faith.

Of course the Ministry defended their treaty. The Prime Minister said "I have but one answer to give the House; it is the answer I gave my own bleeding heart. A part must be wounded that the whole of the empire may not perish. If better terms could be had, think you that I would not have embraced them? I had but the alternative either to accept the terms proposed, or continue the war." There appear to be good reasons for believing that the Commissioners on both sides were of the opinion that little of benefit would flow out of the articles in the treaty, to the Loyalists, and that the parties on either side who had suffered by the war, would have to look each to his own country for reparation, and so indeed the sequel proved. In some instances Loyalists succeeded in getting back part or all of their landed estate but these were exceptional cases rather than the rule. Most of them never recovered anything and were compelled to end their lives in exile and poverty.

What Did Loyalism Represent?

What, it may be asked, did Loyalism represent? It stood up for law against all forms of rebellion. It stood for the established order of things. It was first, last, and all the time for the unity of the British Empire. At the same time it did not uphold the colonial system of the mother country in its entirety. Far from it. Before the actual breaking out of hostilities, as well as for some time after, the Loyalists were quite as anxious as the Whigs to have existing abuses corrected. But they proceeded through legally organized forms to bring these ends about. It must be remembered they were Americans as well as the Whigs, and as truly attached to their native country as the latter. But they believed and hoped that justice could be better secured by mild measures than by force and that the better sense of the English nation would in the end right their wrongs.

The views of a few prominent Loyalists may here be given. Dr. Myles Cooper, the President of King's College, now Columbia University, and the recognized Loyalist leader among the clergy, while he held and said "God established the laws of government, ordained the British power and commanded all to obey authority"; open disrespect to government was "an un-

pardonable crime"; "the principles of submission and obedience to lawful authority are inseparable from a sound, genuine member of the Church of England as any religious principle";[6] yet Dr. Cooper thought the duty on imported tea "dangerous to constitutional liberty," and declared the Stamp Act to be contrary to American rights, and favored the opposition to the duties on paper, glass and other articles.[7]

Dr. Samuel Seabury, another prominent Loyalist, declared "My ancestors were among the first Englishmen who settled in America. I have no interests but in America. I have not a relative out of it that I know of. Yet, let me die! but I had rather be reduced to the last shilling, than that the imperial dignity of Great Britain should sink, or be controlled by any people or power on earth."[8] Still another used this language: "My most earnest wish is for the happiness of America. I consider Great Britain and her colonies as but one body, which must be affected throughout by the sufferings of any one member. I consider them as constituting one great and illustrious family, to which I have the honor to belong; and I pray that its tranquility may be speedily restored, and that peace and harmony may forever reign through every part of it."[9]

There can be no question about the sincerity and honesty of these men. They were of the highest character. Immediately prior to the Revolution, the main distinction between the Whigs and Loyalists was what shape opposition to the acts of the English Parliament should take. Both sides held that injustice was being done to America. It was only a few ultra Tories who upheld the acts of the British government in their entirety.

Such were the views of the Loyalists up to the Declaration of Independence. After that they were reluctantly compelled to believe that the hour for argument and persuasion was past, and that the integrity and security of the British Empire could be secured only by pulling down the rising revolutionary spirit by force of arms.

Demanding Recompense for Their Losses.

The efforts of the Loyalists to secure recognition in the Treaty of Paris compelled them to enter upon a campaign for recompense from the British Government direct. As all parties agreed they had been ruined through their adherence to the King, public sentiment in Britain leaned toward compensation. They went to work with a will. They sought to bring the case before the people to arouse public sentiment in their favor. An agency was established to take charge of affairs, and a committee appointed consisting of one delegate from each of the Thirteen American States. By their direction a pamphlet was prepared and published in 1783 called "The Case and Claim of the American Loyalists, impartially stated and considered." The great authorities on international law of that day, Vattel and Puffendorf, were quoted and the arguments were in reality very strong. They had taken up arms at

[6] A Friendly Address, etc., p. 5.

[7] Ibid., p. 43.

[8] A View of the Controversy, etc., p. 23.

[9] Chandler, What think ye of Congress now? pp. 44–48.

the request of the King, and the latter was in honor bound to consider their claims. In fact, at the opening of Parliament, the King in the speech from the throne made reference to the "American sufferers," who, from motives of loyalty to him, had relinquished their properties or professions, and trusted that "generous attention would be shown to them." An act was passed creating a Board of Commissioners to examine and pass upon the claims of all such persons; they were also directed that in case any of these persons claimed greater amounts than they had lost, they were to receive no compensation whatever.

To get at the loyalty and conduct of these Loyalists, the Commission classified them under six heads. First: Those who had rendered services to Great Britain. Second: Those who had borne arms for Great Britain. Third: Uniform Loyalists. Fourth: Loyal British subjects resident in Great Britain. Fifth: Loyalists who had taken oaths to the American States, but afterwards joined the British. And, lastly, such Loyalists who had borne arms for the American States, but who afterwards joined the British army or navy.

The claimants set forth the character of the losses they had sustained. In adjusting these losses, there was often a great discrepancy between the amounts claimed and those allowed. In some cases the full claim was allowed, but in others only fractional sums, while still others got nothing at all, chiefly owing to their inability to prove their claims. This naturally gave rise to much complaint. The time limit in which claims could be presented was March 26, 1784. By that time 2,063 claims were handed in, and the aggregate of the amounts claimed was $35,231,390. A second, third, fourth and fifth report was submitted, each representing additional claims and allowances that had been passed upon. By April 5, 1788, the Commissioners had passed upon and examined one thousand six hundred and eighty claims, and had liquidated the same for $9,437,740. That the long delay in adjusting these claims should call out loud complaints was to be expected. A petition had been presented to Parliament in which it was said, "It is impossible to describe the poignant distress under which many of these persons now labor, and which must daily increase, should the justice of Parliament be delayed until all the claims are liquidated. Ten years have elapsed since many of them have been deprived of their fortunes, and, with their helpless families, reduced from independent affluence to poverty and want; some of them now languishing in British jails, others indebted to their creditors, who have lent them money barely sufficient to support their existence, and who, unless speedily relieved, must sink more than the value of their claims when received, and be in a worse condition than if they had never made them; others have already sunk under the pressure and severity of their misfortunes."

Whether that picture is overdrawn it is, of course, impossible for us at this time to say. Certain it is, however, there must have been a great amount of distress among these unfortunate people. In 1778 a tract supposed to have been written by the most pronounced of all Pennsylvania Loyalists, Joseph Gallaway, reiterates all the above statements. He says, "It is well known that this delay of justice has produced the most melancholy and shocking events. A number of the sufferers have been driven by it into insanity and become their own destroyers, leaving behind them their helpless widows and orphans

to subsist upon the cold charity of strangers. Others have been sent to cultivate a wilderness for their subsistence, without having the means, and compelled through want to throw themselves on the mercy of the American States and the charity of their former friends, to support the life which might have been made comfortable by the money long since due from the British Government; and many others, with their families, are barely subsisting upon a temporary allowance from Government—a mere pittance when compared with the sum due them."

Still later the eleventh report was made, at which time the entire number of claimants is restated, including those in England, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Canada, at 5,072, of whom 952 either withdrew or did not prosecute their claim to a conclusion. The losses submitted in this last amended schedule were $40,130,225, and the sum allowed was $16,462,260, or about 40 per cent. of the amounts claimed. And yet it must be conceded that these people fared perhaps as well as many of the Whigs, whose property was often seized by raiding parties of the contending armies, often without compensation, but more frequently paid for in a currency so depreciated that they got only a fraction of its actual value.

Further Measures for Relief.

It is impossible to regard without feelings of pity the conditions and fate of the Loyalists after the treaty of peace made in 1783. Their all had been staked on the results of the conflict, and they had lost. Their future prosperity was dependent upon the success of the British arms. The treaty of peace sounded the death knell of their hopes. They were aware that their victorious countrymen hated them even more than they hated the English, and that they had nothing to expect from them. It is true that the British ministry made a long and honest effort to protect them in their property. The fourth article in the treaty stipulated that the creditors on either side should "meet with no lawful impediment" in endeavoring to recover their good debts. The fifth article stipulated that the Congress of the United States should "earnestly recommend" to the several states the restoration of the rights and possesions of "real British subjects," and of Loyalists who had not borne arms against their countrymen. All other Loyalists were to be allowed to go into any state within twelve months to settle their affairs and recover their confiscated properties upon paying the purchasers the sale price. The sixth article was to the effect that no further confiscation should be made, that all imprisoned Loyalists should be released, and that further persecutions should not be permitted.

But in many localities these stipulations were disregarded. It was contended that no forfeited property should be restored, inasmuch as Great Britain refused compensation to Whigs whose property had been destroyed. In New York, many who returned under the terms of the treaty of peace were "insulted, tarred, feathered, and whipped, and even hamstrung."

Many of them, however, expatriated themselves forever, and these composed the very flower of the Loyalist party. They had sought refuge in various parts of the British Empire, in England, Scotland, Ireland, Nova Scotia and

various parts of Canada. But the real exodus began only after the treaty of peace had been made. Companies were formed by the well to do, which chartered ships to transport themselves to chosen asylums, while the poorer ones were carried away by the British government. On April 26, 1783, twenty vessels carried 7,000 to Nova Scotia. By August of the same year, 18,000 had arrived at St. Johns, and 10,000 more were expected. By December 16, about 30,000 had arrived, and among them were 3,000 negroes.[10]

For several years this stream of emigration continued to flow northward. "Within the period of one year, Shelburn grew into a city of 1,400 houses and 12,000 people. At the mouth of the St. John River, a town of more than 2,000 had sprung up in a year."[11] And still they continued to flow in from all directions. The estimates of the whole number of Loyalists who settled in Nova Scotia vary from 28,347 to 40,000. England supplied as many as 33,682 rations, and as late as 1785 was still feeding 26,317 refugees. Counting all the Loyalists who had sought refuge in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Cape Breton and Prince Edward's Island, there were 35,000 who found new homes in those regions.[12] Besides, 20,000 had taken refuge in Canada proper. The entire period occupied by the dispersion of the Loyalists reached twelve years subsequent to 1775, and perhaps included in all as many as 60,000 souls.[13]

But sending them to her outlying provinces was not all Great Britain did for these unfortunate people. Before the crowning stroke came, she had many of them claiming her assistance. Home and lands had been sacrificed through their loyalty to the mother country, and they claimed her assistance in their hour of need. Many prominent men from New York and Boston early fled to London, where they were either given positions or temporary annuities. The many who went to Canada and Nova Scotia were given food and shelter. Houses and barracks were built for them. The plan was to make them self-supporting as far as possible. The men were employed on farms or given lands as tenants. Fuel, beds and household utensils were supplied them.

How Some Were Compensated.

It is to England's credit that she fairly accepted the responsibility thus thrown upon her. Not only did she lose her most valuable colonies and incur a great war debt, but now this new burden also came along. The masses of the Loyalists were given lands, seeds, tools and provisions in British North America. "To the better classes, the churchmen, army officers and public officials, were given either larger land grants, lucrative positions in the army and navy, state or church, or pensions. Losses were made good in proportion to the services rendered."[14]

Surveying lands in Nova Scotia for the settlement of Loyalists began as early as 1782. By 1784, 1,000,000 acres had been surveyed at a cost of $24,175,

[10] Jones' History of New York, Vol. 11, p. 494.
Canadian Archives, 1894.
[11] Canadian Archives, 1894, p. 417.
[12] Canadian Archives, 1894, pp. 413–23.
[13] Flick, pp. 179–180.
[14] Flick, pp. 189–190.

and divided into lots; but the demand exceeded the supply, and still more lands were surveyed. Loyalists were exempted from the payment of fees and quit-rents for ten years. Boards to the value of $27,500 were given them. Nails, glass, shingles, bricks and carpenters' tools were also supplied them. The King ordered ironwork for grist and saw-mills and other things to be sent them. For surveys, tools, lumber and seeds, fully $100,000 were spent in two years and a half, and about $4,500,000 in transportation, provisions, clothing, etc., during the first two and a half years.[15]

In Canada proper things proceeded much along the same lines. Land surveys began in 1783, and eight townships were at once surveyed. There was no absolute uniformity in size of the land grants. The rule was to give every adult male and every widow 200 acres. By an Act of the Provincial Council, 200 acres were also granted to every son and daughter of Loyalists when they attained their majority. In upper Canada, 3,200,000 acres were given to Loyalists who had settled there prior to 1787. Huts were at once built, as the grantees were required to settle on their lands at once; but a few years later, these were replaced with comfortable houses. In every way, the government lent its assistance. All their requests for tools were granted, An axe, a hoe, a plow and a spade were allotted to every two families until all were supplied; a whip and cross-cut saw to every fourth family; to every fifth family, a set of carpenter's tools, pick-axes, sickles, grindstones, corn-mills, grist-mills; and one cow to every two families. At first, firearms were denied them, but later were also furnished, that the people might provide themselves with game and wild fowl. About $4,000,000 were spent in supplying these Canadian Loyalists. In the end, they became a prosperous and loyal people, and their descendants are to-day her best and most loyal colonial citizens.

Those Who Crossed the Ocean.

It still remains to tell how those Loyalists fared who had early in the struggle gone to England. They were for the most part the well-to-do class,—men who owned property but who could not carry it with them and were therefore wholly dependent upon the British government. There was, of course, a general exodus of the public officials, who from their positions had become specially obnoxious to the Whigs. The support it was thought would be only temporary, and began after 1775. There was no rule or uniformity in the payment either as to amount or time. At first, the payments were made quarterly, and later annually. By 1782, there were 315 recipients who received $200,000 in the aggregate. The amounts ran from $100 to $2,500 each. The increasing number of pensioners resulted in an investigation, in consequence of which 81 names were dropped, reducing the aggregate yearly sum from $200,000 to $158,500; but 428 new claims were admitted in 1782, on which $87,000 additional were allowed, making the grant for 1783, $245,725. Only 25 applications were refused. The claims were on account of loyalty, actual losses and positive need. One, John Tabor Kempe, who took $70,000 to England with him, applied for an annuity, but was refused. He had, however, lost £98,000. All classes, from aristocratic landholders to emancipated

[15] Canadian Archives, 1894.

slaves, from college presidents, soldiers, sailors, brewers, lawyers, doctors, shopkeepers, and farmers, were represented in the applications.

In all, 5,072 Loyalists presented claims for losses. Even the King urged Parliament to treat the Loyalists with "a due and generous attention." As a result, a commission was appointed by Parliament in 1785 to classify the "losses and services of those who had suffered in their rights, properties and professions on account of their loyalty." The commission went to work at once, and soon discovered their task was no easy one. All claims were to be presented by March 25, 1784; but the time was later extended to 1790. On the first date, 2,053 claims had been presented, representing losses in real and personal property amounting to $35,231,000, and $11,770,000 in debts, and $443,000 in incomes, or a total of nearly $47,500,000. By 1788, 1,680 claims had been adjusted, on which $9,448,000 were allowed.

Still More Claims.

It was soon found that justice could not be done to these Loyalists unless commissioners took evidence in America. Such were accordingly sent both to Halifax and New York. The claims passed upon were 1,408, asking for nearly $7,000,000, on which $2,745,000 were allowed. The commissioners in this country gave three years to the work. Every effort was made to deal fairly with claimants; but the claims were "padded" to the utmost extent. Altogether 5,072 claims were presented, amounting to $50,411,000. Of that number, 3,184 were allowed, and over $19,000,000 were awarded and paid. The total outlay on the part of England on account of the Loyalists, during and after the war, was not less than $30,000,000. A few of the largest claims were the following:

			Allowed.
Frederick Philipse, Jr.,	claimed	$770,000.....	$210,000
Sir John Johnson	"	516,000.....	223,000
Oliver De Lancy	"	390,000.....	125,000
Beverly Robinson	"	344,000.....	148,000
James De Lancy	"	284,000.....	160,000

Note.—I have not found any lists of Lancaster County Loyalists who were deported or sent elsewhere, although they were plentiful. An incident came under my personal notice that throws some light on the question may be given. Nearly fifty years ago, I stood at the foot of that "world's wonder" the Falls of Niagara gazing on the sublime sight. An elderly gentleman approached me and began a conversation. I at once thought I detected the well known *Pennsylvania German accent* in his talk, and the longer he talked the more surely it became evident to me that there was Pennsylvania-German blood in him, and I told him so, and told him besides there were scores of men of his name and lineage in Lancaster County, Penna. Then he told me his grandfather and a good many more from Pennsylvania—from what county he did not remember—had been deported to Canada where they founded a small hamlet and where their descendants are still living. He had these particulars from his father who was a boy at that time.

Minutes of the November Meeting.

LANCASTER, PA., NOV. 7, 1919.

The Historical Society met at their usual place this evening, November 7, 1919.

Treasurer A. K. Hostetter reported a balance of $187.46 on hand.

Librarian Harry Stehman's report showed the following donations during the month:

A score of old Lancaster City directories from E. C. Steigerwalt.

An old sun dial from J. B. Moltz, of Allenhurst, N. J.

A pamphlet on William Henry, of Lancaster, by his great great grandson, Clarence A Wolle, of Bethlehem.

Exchanges from the American Catholic Historical Society, the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania and the Bucks County Historical Society.

A Pennsylvania Public Service Commission publication on Natural Gas Companies.

A Lancaster City Directory of 1884, presented by Albert K. Hostetter.

A pamphlet entitled "The Juliana Library Co. in Lancaster," written by Judge C. I. Landis and presented by him.

Rev. C. B. Heller, of Salisbury, Md., was nominated for membership; and Hon. M. R. and Mrs. Hoffman, of Maytown, B. F. Hoffman, of Bainbridge, H. D. Malschnee, of Manheim, and Ross Myers, of Lancaster, were elected members.

The paper of the evening was a continuation of a paper on "Loyalists in the Revolution," prepared by F. R. Diffenderffer, Litt.D., and was read by President Charles I. Landis.





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PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 5, 1919

"History herself, as seen in her own workshop."

1819

CAPTAIN WILLIAM TRENT, AN INDIAN TRADER,
By Hon. Charles I. Landis.

MINUTES OF THE DECEMBER MEETING.

VOL. XXIII. NO. 10.

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Captain William Trent, an Indian Trader.

By HON. CHARLES I. LANDIS.

In writing this sketch, I make no pretense of ploughing in original ground. Concerning its subject, the late Mr. Hensel, in Volume 16, page 142 of our own records, has copied a page or two from Cooley's Genealogy of Trenton and Ewing, which, in a brief way, refers to his life. That article is, however, neither full nor in all respects accurate; and, considering the important positions which Captain Trent occupied and the busy life he led, his story has not I think been adequately told. At several periods, he was a resident of Lancaster Borough, and this is my excuse for now presenting his almost forgotten name to my hearers. For a long time, he was intimately connected with the Indian trade and Indian traders. These activities, in the early days of the province, radiated from the old borough, and goods were carried by the traders to what was then the far west, beyond the Ohio.

William Trent was a son of Judge William Trent. The latter was a judge in this province and chief justice in New Jersey, and he was the founder of the city of Trenton. The subject of this article was born on February 13, 1715, but his biographers are not uniform as to the place of his birth. In Christopher Gist's Journal, by William M. Darlington, at page 249, it is said that he was born in Chester County; in Egle's Notes and Queries, Vol. 2, first series, at page 4, that he was born in Chester, subsequently Lancaster County; and Cooley, in his Genealogy, states that he was born and educated in Philadelphia. All, however, concur in saying that he was a native Pennsylvanian, and I am disposed to believe that the claim that he was born in what was then Chester County is correct.

The first reference I find anywhere to William Trent is the recitation in a deed, made to him on May 2, 1745, by which George Croghan conveyed the undivided half of a tract of 171 acres of land and allowances situated on the Conodegwinet Creek, in Pennsboro Township, which was then in Lancaster County. On October 7, 1745, William Walker and Elizabeth, his wife, conveyed to him and George Croghan a tract of 354 acres and allowance on the same creek and in the same township, and on December 24, 1745, the grantees gave a mortgage on this property for £200, to Abraham Mitchell, Hatter, of the City of Philadelphia. On July 4, 1746, William Trent, by two indentures, conveyed his undivided interest in both of the above mentioned tracts to George Croghan, in consideration of £70 and $150 respectively. In the mortgage, the residence of both William Trent and Croghan is recited as

being in the County of Lancaster, but in the later conveyances William Trent is stated to be "at present residing at the City of Philadelphia."

Some time in the year 1746, an expedition was projected by the English Government and the Provinces against Canada. Of the forces raised, Pennsylvania furnished four companies. Of one of these companies, Governor Thomas appointed William Trent the captain. Hence came the title by which he was subsequently generally known. While the enterprise failed in its objects, yet the troops under his command were detained in New York for eighteen months, and they were only discharged in December, 1747. A vote of the Assembly conveyed to him its thanks for his conduct in this expedition.

On October 20, 1748, he wrote a letter from Mr. Croghan's to Richard Peters, which was, on November 1, 1748, read in Council, as follows:

"Last night came here from Alleghany one John Hays, who informs us that the night before he left it, the Indians killed one of Mr. Parker's hands; it was owing to ill usage Mr. Parker & his hands gave them that day, & his being a Maryland trader, who the Indians don't care should come amongst them. Mr. Parker had a large quantity of Liquor up with him which he was tying up in his goods in order to send to the lower Shawna Town, and the Indians kep pressing into his house & he unwilling that they should see what he was about, some he turned out, & others as they were coming in he pushed the door in their faces, upon which they were determined to take his Liquor, unless he would let them have it at the price settled at the Treaty. They brought him wampum, and offered to leave it in pledge, but he refused to let them have it, upon which they took a quantity from him, a great many of them got drunk, who then insisted upon revenge for the ill treatment he gave them, and accordingly took Parker prisoner and tyed him, and determined to scalp him, but the rest of the whites who were in the Town rescued him. He immediately went of about two miles from the Town, where some of his people lay, & got a horse, & rid that night thirty miles bare-backed to the Logs Town. The Indians imagined he had gone into his house, one of them layd wait for him at the door with his gun, at last one Brown, one of Mr. Parker's hands, came out with a white Matchcoat round him, which the Indian took for Parker (as he was in his shirt at the time they had tyed him) & shot him down. This happened at Coscaske. Mr. Crogan sends Wm. Brown, the lad from Carolina, off directly by a waggon to be delivered according to your directions. Mr. Croghan gave him a shirt and a cap, which comes to 12 s. 6 d. Mr. Croghan & myself set off the latter end of next week for Philad'a."

As the western part of Lancaster County lay a considerable distance from the Borough of Lancaster, where the courts of justice were held and the offices were kept, by an Act of Assembly passed January 27, 1749, Cumberland County was created. Governor Hamilton then appointed Trent one of the justices of the Court of Common Pleas and General Sessions of the new county. How long he retained this position I cannot say. In 1750, he was engaged in the Indian trade with George Croghan, who is said to have been his brother-in-law. On January 4, 1751, Michael Teaf (or Taff) joined this partnership. Teaf resided on the Susquehanna, a short distance below Harris's Ferry.

A little prior to and about this time, difficulties arose between the French and the traders. On October 20, 1748, Trent wrote to Secretary Peters an account of a murder committed by an Indian at Kuskuskies, and on April 22, 1750, he wrote from Lancaster to the same gentleman that "Just before I left town (meaning Philadelphia) you told me that you would send some Marriage & Trading Lycenses. I'm afraid my mother has forgot. Tell me if you have sent them. Please to send to my mother for them. John Potts is just arrived from Allegheny, who says, some time before he came away, two men belonging to one, James Young, went from a place called Hochocken, about three hundred miles from Logtown, to the Twightees country (Miami) for skins. They staying longer than was expected, the master sent after them. They found the horses and saddles, all the buckles cut from the saddles, but the men were gone, either killed or taken by the French and Indians, supposed to be done by Ottoways. If this be true, as I believe it is, it would be a good opportunity (as the Indians must be at war with somebody) to make a peace between our Indians and the Carolina Indians & set them both on the French Indians. I expect to sleep at Harris' Ferry tonight. I came this morning from White Horse."

On March 5, 1751, he also wrote to Peters from Pennsboro:

"I received your letter pr John Holmes, with the money, and am very much obliged to you. You may depend upon my doing the utmost in my power for the hastening the payment of yr money.

"One of our men just come from Allegheny for Provisions says that the winter has been the hardest ever known in them parts, and Provisions so scarce that a Peck of Corn will fetch five shillings. The Indians has parted with what corn they had to spare already to the Traders, to keep their Horses alive, which makes them affraid if they part with more, they'll suffer themselves before the next crop. The Traders have lost a great menay horses which I am affraid we are no small sufferers.

"This man says that it was reported by a party of warriors that came to the Town where he was, that three of the Traders' men were taken by the French Indians. By the acc't the men and goods must be ours. He also says that it was reported that a Body of French and French Indians intended for the Twightives County to destroy the English Traders there, as soon as the season would permit.

"I understand that there's several Hundred familys intend to remove over the Hills this Spring & those that are over have no thoughts of removing.

"Mr. Miller desired I would acquaint you that he used the utmost of his power to get the widow to part with her place at a reasonable Price, but she would not consent to let it goe for less than what he wrote you."

This year, his name appears among the taxables of Middletown Township, Cumberland County, south of Carlisle, and he must, therefore, have been then living there at that time.

Early in 1752, the French built forts at Presque Isle (now Erie), LeBeouff (now Waterford), and Venango (now Franklin). Thereupon, Governor Dinwiddie took Trent into the service of that province.

In the meantime, Trent, for the Province of Virginia, had attended a council of the Ohio tribes at Logtown, in company with French Andrew (Andrew Montour). They met the heads of the Five Nations, the Picts, the Shawanees, the Owandots, and the Delawares. So wrote John Frazer, who then lived at Turtle Creek, near the ground which within two years was to be rendered famous as Braddock's Fields.

The Virginia authorities promised the Indians to supply them with ammunition to defend themselves against the French, and George Croghan, William Trent and Andrew Montour were appointed to make distribution.

On April 10, 1753, he wrote to Governor Hamilton: "I have received a letter just now from Mr. Croghan wherein he acquaints me that fifty odd Ottowas, Conewagos, one Dutchman and one of the Six Nations that was their Captain met with some of our people at a place called Kentucky, on this side Allegheny river, about one hundred and fifty miles from the lower Shawanese Town. They took eight prisoners, five belonging to Mr. Croghan and me, and the others to Lowry. They took three or four hundred pounds worth of goods from us. One of them made his escape after he had been a prisoner three days. Three of John Finley's men are killed by the little Pict Town and no account of himself. They robbed Michael Teaff's people near the Lakes; there was one Frenchman in Company. The Owendats secured his People and five horse load of skins. Mr. Croghan is coming thro' the woods with some Indians and whites and the rest of the white men and the Indians are coming up the river in a body, though 'tis a question whether they escape, as three hundred Ottawas were expected at the lower Town every day and another party of French and Indians coming down the river. The Indians are in such confusion that there is no knowing who to trust. I expect they will all join the French, except the Delawares, as they expect no assistance from the English. The Low Dutchman's name that was with the party that robbed our people is Philip Philips. His mother lives near Col. Johnson. He was taken by the French Indians about six years ago and has lived ever since with them. He intends some time this summer to go and see his mother. If your Honors pleases to acquaint the Governor of New York with it, he may possibly get him secured by keeping it secret, and acquainting Col. Johnson with it, and ordering him to apprehend him. If the Dutchmen once comes to understand it, they will contrive to send him word to keep out of the way. I intend leaving directly for Allegheny with provisions for our People that are coming through the woods and up the river."

In August, 1753, Montour was with Trent at the Forks of the Ohio, when the latter viewed the ground on which a fort was to be built. John Frazer wrote that Trent had been viewing the ground on which the fort projected by the Ohio Company was to be built, and that he had left for Virginia.

In September of the same year, a treaty was made at Winchester, Virginia, between Col. Thomas Fairfax and the Six Nations. Trent and Croghan were both present there and assisted. Eighty Indians attended, and they were received with ceremony.

On February 3, 1754, Croghan wrote to Governor Hamilton and his secretary, Richard Peters, urging the building of a strong log trading house or

stockade, in reality a fort, but inexpensive. He mentions that Mr. Trent has just come out with the Virginia Guards, and had brought a quantity of tools and workmen to begin a fort, and as he could not talk the Indian language, he (Croghan) was obliged to stay and assist in dividing the goods.

It seems that, in January of this same year, Governor Dinwiddie had commissioned Trent to raise a hundred men for this purpose. Trent got seventy, and with them he started a fort at the Forks of the Ohio. This was the commencement of the fort at this place. The King had sent out thirty pieces of cannon, four-pounders, with carriages and all necessary implements, and also eighty barrels of powder. Trent was familiar with this country, for he and Croghan, as partners in the Indian trade, had a store house above the mouth of Pine Creek. They had also numbers of large canoes and batteaux, and they had fenced in fields of Indian corn.

On February 17, 1754, Trent began the erection of the fort, and in the same month, he, with Christopher Gist, was at the mouth of the Red Stone Creek, building the storehouse for the Ohio Company, in order to lodge stores to be carried from there to the mouth of the Monongehela by water. This creek is about thirty-seven miles distant from where Fort Duquesne stood.

He heard that the French proposed to take possession of the country at an early day, and he therefore hastened to the nearest settlement, which was Will's Creek, to procure reinforcements. But during his absence from his command, the fort, then under the command of Lieut. Frazer and Ensign Ward, was on April 16, 1754, seized by a force of French and Indians, consisting of a thousand men, and three hundred canoes, with twenty cannon. They were under the command of M. de Contrecoeur. After the capture of the fort it was enlarged and finished by the French and was called Fort Duquesne after the then Governor of Canada. The trading post and property of Trent and Croghan were seized by the French and Indians, for on April 24, 1754, Croghan, at Carlisle, prepared an account of losses occasioned by the French and Indians driving the English traders off the Ohio, in which he states that the property seized belonged to William Trent, George Croghan, Robert Callender and Michael Teaf, traders in company.

Evidently, he and his partners then became financially embarrassed. A petition was presented by certain creditors to the Assembly on November 26, 1754, asking it to pass an Act exempting Trent and Croghan from arrest. On December 2, 1754, Croghan wrote to Secretary Peters: "Pray could not ye Assembly pass an Act of Bankruptcy to oblige ye merchants to take what effects we (the firm of Croghan & Trent) have to pay and so discharge us. I should be glad to know if that could be don, or in what manner to proceed." The Assembly passed such an Act, but after three years, it was disallowed by the Crown.

In 1755, Trent is said to have entered into the service of his native Province, and that for two years he was a member of the Provincial Council. His name is not mentioned in Keith Provincial Councillors, and I cannot find any record of him during that and the succeeding year in the Colonial Records.

He wrote from Carlisle, on Sunday Evening, 15th February, 1756, "Sir:

Wensday Evening two Lads were taken or killed at the Widow Cox's, just under Parnelle Nob, and a Lad who went from McDowell's Mill to see what fire it was never returned, the horse coming back with the Reins over his neck. They burnt the house and shot down the cattle. Just now came news that a party of Indian warriors were come out against the Inhabitants from some of the Susquehannoh Towns, and yesterday some People who were over in Shurman's Valley discovered fresh tracks. All the people have left their Houses betwixt this and the Mountain. Some come to Town and others gathering into the little Forts. They are moving their effects to Shippenburgh: every one thinks of flying. Unless the Government fall upon some effectual method & that immediately of securing the Frontiers, there will not be one Inhabitant in this Valley one month longer. There is a few of us endeavor to keep up the Spirits of the People. We have proposed going upon the Enemy tomorrow, but whether a number sufficient can be got I cannot tell. No one scarce seems to be effected with the distress of their Neighbors, and for that reason none will stir but those who are next the Enemy & in immediate danger. A Fort in this Town would have saved this part of the County; but I doubt this Town in a few days will be deserted if this party that is out should kill any people nigh here. I was of the opinion the Forts, as they were built, would be of no service. I was laughed at for it, but now the Inhabitants here are convinced of it. I wrote for the Militia, and expect an answer by the Post."

About this time, he must have had his home in Lancaster, for his daughter, Ann, was born here on October 20, 1756, and his daughter, Martha, on October 24, 1759. He must have been a renter, for no real estate appears in his name. He, after Braddock's defeat, went to Wills Creek (Fort Cumberland), and assisted Washington, and he also attempted to raise a force to go against the Indians; but in this he was unsuccessful.

In 1757, he was again in the employ of Virginia, and later of Pennsylvania, and on July 27, of that year, he was secretary of Croghan at the Council with the Indians held at Easton, when the Great Treaty was entered into between the Indians and Governor Denny. On May 2, he was at Bethlehem, and on June 16, at Winchester, Virginia. From Bethlehem he wrote to Governor Denny:

"May it Please your Honor:

"At the request of the Indians at Lancaster and Mr. George Croghan, I came with two of the Chiefs of the Six Nations. One returned from Reading, the other came here in order to bring Tedyuscung and the rest of the Delawares if arrived to Lancaster. If not, to bring what was here or their Chiefs, and leave word for Tedyuscung to follow with the rest as soon as he arrived. Yesterday, the Mohawk Sachem, who came here, delivered his speech in the presence of Mr. Horsfield & several other of the Inhabitants to the Indians here, and they have agreed that a number of their Chiefs with some women shall set off with us this morning for Lancaster, and have left the Wampum with word for Tedyuscung to follow with the rest as soon as he arrives.

"The day before yesterday, an Indian came down from Fort Allen here. He says all the Indians that were there, except Six or Seven, are gone off.

"I have heard two reasons given, one was that, as Tedyuscung stayed so long, they would goe back and Plant their Corn and then return again, unless they should meet him coming down, then they would return with him. But the Indians tell me the reason they went off was that they were afraid when they heard that there was white people killed. Here is no late accounts of Tedyuscung."

In 1758, he accompanied General Forbes in his Expedition against Fort Duquesne, and in 1759 was employed by Sir William Johnson, who was at that time British Agent for Indian Affairs in America. On October 4, 1759, he was present at the treaty made with the Ohio Indians at Fort Pitt, and also at the subsequent conference held by General Stanwix and the Western Indians in October. In 1760, he was with General Monckton at Fort Pitt.

He, with those whose signatures are appended, wrote:

"To the Honble Col. Henry Boquet, Commanding His Majesty's Troops at Fort Pitt.

"The Memorial of the Merchants Trading here Humbly sets forth:

"That by orders given out by the Honble Brigadier General Mouckton last summer (1760) and lately renewed by you, all Merchants, Sutlers, etc., trading here, were forbid under penalty of having their Houses pulled down and being dismissed the Camp, to sell, barter, or Exchange with any Indian, Powder, Lead or Spiritous Liquors, without first applying to His Majesty's Deputy Agent here for liberty for so doing, and as yesterday, Mr. McClure, in behalf of Mr. Ormsby, as well as others, did apply to His Majesty's Agent for liberty to sell a quantity of Rum to an Indian Woman, which he refused; and as the Provincial Agent has from time to time sold Powder, Lead and Rum to the Indians without liberty first obtained of His Majesty's Agent, as enjoined by the Orders, & did yesterday sell a quantity of Rum to a Delaware Woman without liberty, after several of us had applied and were refused. That we, the Merchants trading here, look upon the Provincial Agent as a Merchant in common with us, and as such subject to any orders of the Commanding Officer; that a privilege allowed to any one Merchant to brake thro' the orders, while the rest are obliged to obey them must entirely ruin the rest; which obliges me to call upon you for redress, which from your known regard to Justice we make no doubt of obtaining.

"And your Memorialists will ever pray, &c.

"William Trent
"Ephraim Blane
"Thomas Mitchell
"Thomas Welsh
"John McClure
"Hugh Crawford
"James Harris."

After the building of Fort Pitt, John Finley seems to have settled there with George Croghan, and a number of other Cumberland County traders. In a list of the inhabitants of Fort Pitt in July, 1760, not belonging to the

army, the name of John Finley is given, together with the names of Lazarus Lowry, Edward Ward, William Trent, Hugh Crawford, and more than eighty other men, the greater part of whom were traders. His name also appears in the lists of 1761.

During the ensuing years, he entered largely into the Indian trade. On May 16, 1760, William Trent, Joseph Simon, David Franks and Levi Andrew Levy entered into articles of agreement as partners in the western fur trade. The agreement, intended to last nine years, was under the "adventure" system, which did not restrict the partners in other business. Accustomed to taking daring risks, Trent, at a settlement, on January 9, 1869, was heavily in debt to his partners. To secure £4,082 he owed Joseph Simon and David Franks, he gave them a mortgage on 7,500 acres of land in what was then Cumberland County, Pa. Michael Gratz acquired a joint interest in this land. As the title of Trent passed to Joseph Simon, it was in litigation between the executors and heirs of Simon and Gratz for many years, finally reaching the Supreme Court of the United States.

Joseph Simon, as is known to all of you, lived in the Borough of Lancaster. His dwelling house was located where the Conestoga Bank now stands. His store and warehouse were on the southeast corner of East King Street and Penn Square, where the Watt & Shand store has been erected. Col. David Franks lived in the City of Philadelphia. He owned considerable real estate from time to time in Lancaster, and he was a man of wealth. Levy Andrew Levy lived in Lancaster, and was a merchant. Where he kept his store during the pendency of this partnership, I cannot now say; but on June 19, 1775, he purchased the property now owned by the Fulton National Bank.

This firm had a large trading house near Fort Pitt. In 1763, Pontiac formed his conspiracy, and with his Indians overran the western country, killing the traders and settlers, and destroying their property. Practically all the western posts were seized, except Detroit and Fort Pitt which were besieged. At Bloody Run, Captain Trent and twenty-two other traders were attacked by the Indians, and their goods were taken or destroyed. The trading house was also destroyed, and he was totally ruined. He fled to Fort Pitt for safety, and was there employed in military duties by Captain S. Ecuyer, the Commandant of that post.

A treaty was made with the Indians at Fort Stanwix in 1768. The Indians at that time made a conveyance of a large tract of land between the Kanawha and the Monongahela Rivers, about two-thirds of what is now the State of West Virginia, as compensation for these depredations. This deed was made to Captain Trent, as attorney in fact for himself and his twenty-two associate traders, who had, in 1763, suffered loss. The names of the beneficiaries, outside of Trent, were: Robert Callender, David Franks, Joseph Simon, Levy Andrew Levy, Philip Boyle, John Baynton, Samuel Wharton, George Morgan, Joseph Spear, Thomas Smallman, John Welch, Edward Moran, Evan Shelby, Samuel Postlethwait, John Gibson, Richard Winston, Dennis Crohon, William Thompson, Abraham Mitchell, James Dundas, Thomas Dundas, John Ormsby. The amount claimed by Franks, Trent, Simons & Co.,

was £24,780, 1 s. 8 p. The deed given by the Indians was in Independence Hall, in the City of Philadelphia, and probably yet remains there.

At a meeting held by the grantees of these lands, the following measures were agreed upon:

"In consideration of the great losses and damages amounting to £85,916, 10 s. 8 d. lawful money of New York sustained by sundry traders in the Spring of the year 1763, when the Shawanese, Delewares and Huron Tribes of Indians, Tributories of the Six Nations, seized upon and appropriated the Goods, Merchandize and effects of the Traders, The Sachems and Chiefs of the Six Nations, meeting at Fort Stanwix on Nov. 3, 1768, granted unto the said Traders:

"All that Tract or parcel of Land, Beginning at the Southerly side of the South of little Kenhawa River, where it empties itself into the River Ohio, and running from thence North East to the Laurel Hill, thence along the Laurel Hill until it strikes the River Monongehela, thence down the stream of the said River Monongehela, according to the several courses thereof, to the Southern Boundary Line of the Province of Pennsylvania. Thence westerly along the course of the said Province Boundary Line as far as the same shall extend, and from thence by the same course to the River Ohio, according to the several courses thereof, to the place of Beginning.

"And whereas, we understand there are numbers of Families settled on the said Lands. We do hereby give notice that they may be assured of peaceable possession on complying with the Terms of our general Land Office, which will shortly be opened for the sale of the said Lands in behalf of all the grantees, and that the purchase will be made easy."

Captain Trent visited England, to secure the approval of this grant. The minutes of a meeting held by the grantees on September 2, 1773, contain the following report:

"Mr. William Trent informs the company present that on his arrival in England, Anno 1769, being advised by Doctor Franklin, Lord Cambdin and others, that it was unnecessary to make application to the Crown or King in Council for a Confirmation of the above mentioned Grant, but that all he had to do was to return and take possession thereof, and understanding that Lord Hillsborough was determined to oppose a confirmation of the said Grant, as will appear by his Letters to Sir William Johnson, he declined making the said application for the same to be confirmed. This Mr. Trent recommends not to be made public, as it may perhaps give an unfavorable Idea of our Right to the common people; but he thought it his duty to communicate it to this Company. He further acquaints them that soon after his arrival in England, a Company of Gentlemen made a purchase from the Crown of a tract of Land on the Ohio, which includes the Grant of all the Tract given or Granted by the Six Nation Indians to the suffering Traders as aforesaid. That the said Company of Purchasers, stiling themselves the Grand Ohio Company, agreed in the minutes of their proceedings to confirm and convey to the said suffering Traders all their Right and Title to that part of their purchase which includes the Grant from the Indians to the suffering Traders as aforesaid."

The King is said to have sanctioned the grant but I cannot give the date, and in 1780, a committee of the Continental Congress reported in its favor. However, the government of Virginia within whose limits it lay refused to give its approval, and the grant was thereby rendered ineffective. Trent, however, settled upon this land and remained there until the beginning of the Revolutionary War, when he returned to Pennsylvania, and accepted a Major's commission from the Continental Congress. His active service was in the western department, and, in the line of his duty, he was present at the treaty made with the Indians at Fort Pitt in 1776.

On his return from England, a quarrel arose between him and Baynton and Morgan, a firm of noted traders in the western country prior to the Revolution. They were located in the City of Philadelphia. On July 8, 1775, George Morgan published the following notice:

"Captain William Trent, lately arrived from England, having been guilty of very dishonest & dishonourable Acts to the Prejudice of my late father-in-law, John Baynton, dec'd, & having refused to give him any reason for his conduct, & still refusing to give any satisfaction therein, I do hereby announce and declare the said Wm. Trent to be an infamous lyar and a Scoundrel."

Trent made no response to these charges.

Captain Trent and certain associates organized a company to which they gave the name of the Indiana Land Company. It is so called on Hutchins's map of 1778. The Virginia Legislature, however, also refused to confirm this grant from the Indians, and the traders eventually suffered the additional loss of all they had paid for securing and protecting the same.

Another large tract, which was bounded by land of George Croghan on the south, was also bought from the Indians and patented in 1769 to Charles Reed, Thomas Wharton, William Trent, and others, and this tract was known as the Otsego Patent.

In December, 1775, the Assembly passed a bill for the relief of Trent and Croghan for a period of ten years.

At the March Term of the Court of Common Pleas of Lancaster County, in 1776, an action of debt was commenced by Alexander Lowrey against William Trent, to recover the sum of £4,026, 8 s. 7 d. Thereupon, Trent made the following defense: "That on the 22d day of December, 1768, he, together with George Croghan and Samuel Wharton, becoming jointly and severally bound to Alexander Lowrey in the sum of eight thousand and fifty-two pounds, seventeen shillings and four pence, conditioned for the payment of the sum £4,026 8 s. 7 d. within four years after the ratification and confirmation by his Majesty or other lawful authority in England, or of a certain deed or grant heretofore made by certain Indians in the said conditions mentioned, or if any other grant or confirmation of lands or other satisfaction then or thereafter to be made to or for certain sufferers in the said conditions mentioned, by the depredations committed by the said Indians in the year of our Lord, 1763, as by the said obligation and the conditions thereof, a true copy whereof is to these presents annexed, fully appears; and that he is not indebted on bond to the said Alexander Lowrey by or for any

other matter or thing whatsoever, and the said William Trent further saith that the deed or grant so as aforesaid made by the said Indians to the persons in the said conditions named, was not ratified or confirmed by his Majesty or other lawful authority in England, on the 21st day of April last past, at which time this deponent left England, nor as this deponent has been informed and verily believes, hath the same ever hitherto been so aforesaid or in any way ratified or confirmed; nor hath any grant or confirmation whatsoever been made, ratified and confirmed of any lands whatsoever to the persons in the said conditions mentioned, or to any other persons to and for the use of the sufferers aforesaid, in the year aforesaid or of any of them; nor hath any other satisfaction of any kind whatsoever been made or given by any person whatsoever to the persons in the said conditions mentioned, or to any of them, or to any other persons to and for the use of the sufferers aforesaid, in the year aforesaid, or any of them, and the said William Trent further saith that the said £4,026 8 s. 7 d. in the said conditions mentioned, nor any part thereof, is not yet due or payable to the said Alexander Lowrey by the obligors therein mentioned or any of them, according to the form of the said conditions or the true intent and meaning thereof."

The defense set forth in the affidavit was evidently considered a good one, for Col. Lowrey did not recover on this bond.

While on his way east in 1778, Trent took ill at his old home in Cumberland County, and he died there from this illness. He was buried in an old graveyard not far from Silver Spring Church Yard, if not in this identical burying ground. That Church Yard is located along the highway between Harrisburg and Carlisle, and about seven miles from the former city. This churchyard is several hundred yards from the road back of the church. Major Trent was a representative man in Provincial days, and he spent most of his life in the public service.

Minutes of the December Meeting.

DECEMBER 5, 1919.

The monthly meeting of the Historical Society was held at the usual place with the President, Judge Chas. I. Landis, presiding.

The Minutes of the November Meeting were read and approved.

The Treasurer's report showed a balance on hand of $215.40.

The Librarian's report showed the following donations and exchanges:

Copper and other mineral specimens from the famous Alamo, Texas. An authoritative pamphlet on its historical building.

University of Arizona bulletins.

Oklahoma Historical Society pamphlets.

Kansas State Historical Society biennial report.

Massachusetts State Historical Society proceedings, 1918–19.

Bureau of American Ethnological bulletins 60 and 70.

Andevera in the Spanish Colonies, by C. H. Cunningham, University of California.

Military Map of the Southern and Border States, by Miss Bausman.

A Collection of more than 30 German Almanacs printed in Lancaster, York, Hagerstown and Philadelphia, 1849–1919, by Peter H. Flick.

A petition signed by many Lancaster citizens requesting Mr. John A. Boring to run for Mayor of Lancaster in 1880, by Mr. M. T. Garvin.

A collection of scraps of prose and poetry consisting of biographical sketches, tales, conundrums, etc., collected by the late S. S. Rathvon, 1833–1840, by Geo. F. Rathvon, 643 Fourth St., Lancaster, Pa.

Miss Helen E. Hickman was proposed for membership.

Rev. C. B. Heller, of Salisbury, N. C., was elected a member of the Society.

Nomination of officers to serve during the coming year are:

President, Judge Chas. I. Landis.

First Vice-President, F. R. Diffenderffer, Litt.D.

Second Vice-President, A. Frank Eshleman, Esq.

Recording Secretary, Miss Adeline B. Spindler.

Acting Recording Secretary, John L. Summy.

Corresponding Secretary, Miss Martha B. Clark.

Treasurer, Albert K. Hostetter.

Librarian, Harry L. Stehman, Jr.

Executive Committee, L. B. Herr, Geo. F. K. Erisman, D. B. Landis, D. F. Magee, Esq., Miss Mary N. Robinson, Miss Sarah D. Carpenter, Miss Daisy E. B. Grubb, I. C. Arnold, Esq., Prof. H. H. Beck.

A bill of $7.50 for services incident to cleaning the room was presented by Mr. Stephens and on motion was ordered paid.

A letter from Thomas Oliver Mathot, asking the Society to send certain copies of the Columbia Spy on the Society's files to the New York Public Library and Columbia University was read and on motion refused.

A communication from the Minnesota Historical Society requesting the Lancaster County Historical Society to furnish them with certain back numbers and enter into an agreement to exchange future pamphlets was referred to the Librarian and Library Committee with power to act without injury to our Society.

An invitation to the President, or in case of his inability a substitute, to attend the fifteenth anniversary of the Berks County Historical Society was read. As President Landis was unable to go he asked for a volunteer. There being no response the matter was held over.

The Paper of the evening was read by the President on "Captain William Trent, an Indian Trader." It was referred with the thanks of the Society to the Committee on Publication.

J. L. SUMMY,
Acting Secretary.

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